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SUPPLEMENTA
HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
IX

PHINEAS FLETCHER

LOCUSTAE VEL
PIETAS IESUITICA

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION,
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

ESTELLE HAAN



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS
1996

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

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HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
IX

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IX

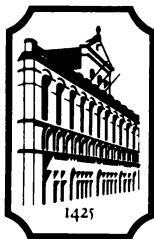
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PREFACE

I wish to acknowledge a contribution from the Publications Fund of the Queen's University of Belfast towards the production of this book. Thanks are also due to the special collections and inter-library loans divisions of the Queen's University Library and to the facilities of the University Arts Computing Unit. I am grateful to the Research and Scholarships Committee for funding trips to the British Library, London, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and to the authorities of those institutions for permitting me to consult manuscripts and books relevant to my research. I wish to thank Josef IJsewijn for his continued support of this and other neo-Latin research projects which I have undertaken, and Michael McGann who first introduced me to Renaissance Latin as an undergraduate. A final word of thanks to my husband, Tony, Arts Computing Officer at Queen's, for his patience and support, and not least for seeing this book through every stage of its production.

EH
July 1995

ABBREVIATIONS

PRIMARY TEXTS

<i>Ad. Tham.</i>	Thomas Campion, <i>Ad Thamesin</i>
<i>Aen.</i>	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>
<i>Apolly.</i>	Phineas Fletcher, <i>Apollyonists</i>
<i>Cat.</i>	Catullus, <i>Carmina</i>
<i>Chr.</i>	Vida, <i>Christiad</i>
<i>Cic. Fam.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Familiares</i>
<i>Cic. Phil.</i>	Cicero, <i>Orationes Philippicae in M. Antonium</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	Virgil, <i>Eclogues</i>
<i>Georg.</i>	Virgil, <i>Georgics</i>
<i>Horace, S.</i>	Horace, <i>Satires</i>
<i>Loc.</i>	Phineas Fletcher, <i>Locustae</i>
<i>Man.</i>	Manilius, <i>Astronomica</i>
<i>Milton, Epig.</i>	John Milton, <i>Epigrams</i>
<i>Ovid, Met.</i>	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Petr.</i>	Petronius, <i>Satyricon</i>
<i>P.P.</i>	Francis Herring, <i>Pietas Pontificia</i>
<i>PL</i>	John Milton, <i>Paradise Lost</i>
<i>Prop.</i>	Propertius, <i>Carmina</i>
<i>Pulv.Con.</i>	Thomas Campion, <i>De Pulverea Coniuratione</i>
<i>Pyr.</i>	William Gager, <i>Pyramis</i>
<i>Q.Nov.</i>	John Milton, <i>In Quintum Novembris</i>
<i>Reg. Lib.</i>	Michael Wallace, <i>In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi ... Liberationem</i>
<i>Sen. Med.</i>	Seneca, <i>Medea</i>
<i>Sen. Nat.</i>	Seneca, <i>Quaestiones Naturales</i>
<i>Sil. Ital.</i>	Silius Italicus
<i>Stat. Silv.</i>	Statius, <i>Silvae</i>
<i>Stat. Theb.</i>	Statius, <i>Thebaid</i>
<i>State Trials</i>	T.P. Howell (compil.), <i>A Complete Collection of State Trials</i> , Vol. II (London 1816)

JOURNALS

<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>CLS</i>	<i>Comparative Literature Studies</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies</i>
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>JHBS</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Behavioural Sciences</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>MET</i>	<i>Medieval English Theatre</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Milton Studies</i>
<i>N&Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
<i>RevÉtByz</i>	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>RR</i>	<i>Romanic Review</i>
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies</i>
<i>SAR</i>	<i>South Atlantic Review</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>UCPMP</i>	<i>University of California Publications in Modern Philology</i>

INTRODUCTION

1. LIFE AND WORKS OF PHINEAS FLETCHER

Phineas Fletcher (1582-1650)¹ was the elder son of Giles Fletcher, LL.D. He was baptized in Cranbrook Church on 8 April 1582.² He received his earliest education most likely at Dence's School, Cranbrook.³ Then, following in his father's footsteps,⁴ he proceeded to Eton,⁵ and from there to King's College, Cambridge, of which he was elected a scholar on 24 August,⁶ graduating with a BA in 1604, MA in 1607-8 and later a BD. He was ordained by at least 1611.⁷ His Cambridge experiences are reflected to some degree in his Latin and English poetry. For example, in his second Latin Eclogue, entitled *Fusca*, the speaker Thyrsilis (a name adopted by Fletcher in Eclogue 1) states that he first saw *Fusca* while he was walking in a field that looks towards the Plough and whose name derives from the filthy bear:

Ipse agro forte errabam, qui fronte Triones
spectat, et illota nomen sortitur ab ursae.

¹ For a full account of the life and works of Fletcher, see A.B. Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher, Man of Letters, Science and Divinity* (New York, 1937).

² See A.B. Grosart ed., *The Poems of Phineas Fletcher* (Further Worthies' Library [1869]) I, p. xxix.

³ See Grosart, p. lv.

⁴ In *Piscatorie Eclogues* 1 and 2 Phineas provides a wealth of biographical information about his father — his early attempts at poetry while at Eton, his admission to King's College, his poetical achievements at Cambridge, his Scottish journey, and other more personal circumstances. For an excellent identification of this biographical material, see Lloyd E. Berry, "Phineas Fletcher's account of his father", *JEGP* 60 (1961), 258-267.

⁵ Although the Registers for Eton are imperfect, the Allin's MS states that Phineas Fletcher was educated at Eton. The dedication of Fletcher's edition of his father's *De Literis* pays tribute to Eton along with King's College, Cambridge: *florentissimis sororibusque Musis, Collegiis vere Regalibus, huic Cantabrigiensi illi Aetonensi*. See Grosart, pp. lxxi-lxxii.

⁶ His name first appears in the "Common Book" at Cambridge in the ninth week after Midsummer, 1600 = 24 August, 1600. His last appearance is the ninth week after Midsummer 1616. (See Grosart, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv).

⁷ According to the *Book of Protocols* Fletcher was "in priest's orders" by 1611. See Grosart, p. lxxviii.

Hic ego ludentem media inter robora Fuscam
aspicio primus, primas miser imbibo flammās.⁸

This is quite obviously an allusion to the Black Bear Inn at Cambridge or an area north of the city.⁹

There is evidence however that his Cambridge years were not altogether happy. In his *Piscatorie Eclogues* he makes the statement that he left the ungrateful Cam in resentment for some slight cast upon him by the authorities:

Not I my Chame, but me proud Chame refuses,
His froward spites my strong affections sever;
Else from his banks could I have parted never.

(II 6.3-5)

This is a reference to his failure to win a permanent academical position at Cambridge.¹⁰

In spite of these circumstances, it is evident that during his Cambridge years Fletcher had already shown promising signs as a young poet: he had contributed poems to the Cambridge University collections. Thus some of his verses are included in *Sorrowe's Joy* (Cambridge 1603) — a collection of Cambridge poems in English on the death of Elizabeth

⁸ All quotations from Fletcher, unless otherwise indicated, are from F.S. Boas, ed., *The Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher*, Volumes I and II (Cambridge 1927). I have modernised spelling and punctuation.

⁹ See Lee Piepho, "The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's *Piscatoria* among the Britons", *SP* 81 (1984), 461-472 at 462.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the biographical implications of the eclogue, see Gary M. Bouchard, "Phineas Fletcher: The Piscatory Link Between Spenserian and Miltonic Pastoral" *SP* 89 (1992), 232-243 at 238-239. See also Piepho, *op.cit.* passim; Grosart, p. lxxxi: "It was by constraint, not willingly that our Poet finally left the University and Cambridge. He evidently partook of the 'wrong' and 'malice' which his Father bore from 'Gripus' — whoever he was." Fletcher's disillusionment with Cambridge is interesting in that it anticipates that of John Milton. In *Elegia Prima* Milton by a clever cross-comparison with Ovid (see Ralph W. Condee, "Ovid's Exile and Milton's Rustication" *PQ* 37 [1958], 498-502) conveys his delight in actually escaping from the academic world of Cambridge, the setting of which recalls barren Tomis as described by Ovid. Milton also seems to echo George Buchanan, *Elegia* I, entitled *Quam misera sit condicio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae* — a poem that describes the dull routine of study and sleepless nights associated with the academic life. Both Buchanan and Milton (and indeed Fletcher) convey this drab routine by employing images of sterility, and both compare their fates with Ovid. For verbal and thematic points of contact between the two poems, see E. Haan, *John Milton's Latin Poetry: Some Neo-Latin and Vernacular Contexts* (Ph.D. thesis, The Queen's University of Belfast [1987]), pp. 270-275. See also in general Virginia M. Chaney, *The Elegies of George Buchanan in Relation to Those of the Roman Elegists and to the Latin Elegies of John Milton* (Ph.D. thesis, Vanderbilt University [1961]).

and accession of James I. He also contributed verses to *Threno-Thriambeuticon* (Cambridge 1603).

Fletcher's first major work *Sicelides* was composed in 1614. This is a pastoral play in five acts, partly in blank, partly in rhymed verse, which was intended to be performed in the presence of James I on his visit to Cambridge. Unfortunately however the work was not finished in time, but was later performed at King's College. The Cambridge connections of the whole are mirrored to some degree in the fact that the prologue is spoken by the river Chamus, and yet the piece, as its title indicates, is not confined to the setting of Cambridge. On the contrary one of the major successes of the work is its establishment of points of contact between the worlds of Sicily and England. As Chamus states:

Then let me here intreate your minds to see,
In this our England, fruitfull Sicely,
Their two twinne Iles; so like in soyle and frame,
That as two twinnes they'r but another same.¹¹

In this play the author reveals himself as "continental" in a number of respects. This lack of localisation and the tendency to look towards continental precedent was to mark Fletcher's later works, including the *Locustae*. *Sicelides* reflects a quasi-baroque characteristic of verbal floridity, and one of its points of interest is that Fletcher exhibits here a close familiarity with the writings of such continental authors as Sannazaro.¹² For example, the very choice of fishermen (in addition to the traditional shepherds)¹³ as protagonists reflects perhaps Sannazarian practice in the *Piscatoria*.¹⁴ Indeed while constituting a subtle fusion of Theocritean, Virgilian and Sannazarian pastoral, the whole is far from content to remain within the boundaries of the pastoral. Instead Fletcher seizes upon the genre's potentially dramatic elements (already evident, for example, in the recourse to dialogue, rhetorical exclamation or more generally the use of amoebaeon song), to produce a fullscale drama, thereby anticipating Milton's *Comus*. Perhaps the *Sicelides* is best described as an example of the fusion of genres (*genera mixta*) charac-

¹¹ Boas, I., p. 190.

¹² See Piepho. *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹³ Cf. Simone Dorangeon, "De Phineas Fletcher a Izaak Walton: Quelques notes sur la transmission du symbolisme piscatorial," *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Anglo-Américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles* 7 (1978), 63-74.

¹⁴ For a useful modern edition, see *The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro*, ed. W.P. Mustard (Baltimore 1914).

teristic of the Renaissance. This readiness to cross traditional generic *fines* will also be apparent in Fletcher's gunpowder epic. Fletcher remained at King's until 1616.

For the next five years Fletcher was chaplain at Risley, Derbyshire under Sir Henry Willoughby. In 1621 Willoughby presented him to the rectory of Hilgay, Norfolk, where he lived for the rest of his life. Soon after settling here he married Elizabeth Vincent.¹⁵ They had six children.¹⁶

In 1627 the publication of the *Locustae* (along with its accompanying English *Apollyonists*) seems to have involved him in a quarrel with some neighbours, in particular, a priest apparently in his own parish.¹⁷ His intimate friends included Edward Benlowes, his junior by more than twenty years. It was Benlowes who introduced him to Francis Quarles.

Fletcher's output of verse both in English and in Latin is wide-ranging. His chief volume *The Purple Island or the Isle of Man*, together with *Piscatorie Eclogues and other Poeticall Miscellanies by P.F.*, was printed in 1633 at Cambridge. In the dedication to Benlowes Fletcher describes the poems that follow as "these raw essayes of my very unripe yeares, and almost childehood".

The *Purple Island* is in twelve cantos of seven-line stanzas. The work is an elaborate allegorical description of the human body and of the vices and virtues to which man is subject. The body is represented as an island. The bones stand for the foundations, the veins represent the brooks.¹⁸ The work is marked by the influence of Spenser as it draws upon the *Fairie Queene* in a number of respects. Indeed Quarles called

¹⁵ Grosart, p. xcvi, states: "This Elizabeth Vincent was probably met and 'won' in Norfolk — after he had left Cambridge."

¹⁶ Grosart, p. cii, lists these children and their dates of baptism as follows: Edmund (7 March 1623) [Grosart notes that this Edmund is also recorded as having been buried on 26 March 1638]; Phinees (3 Sept 1626); William (12 October 1628); Frances (5 November 1630); Edward (20 July 1634); Sarah (14 September 1636).

¹⁷ He alludes to this in his address to his "deere Parishoners of Hilgay in Norfolk" prefixed to his *Way to Blessedness*: "[I have not] beene disheartned by the opposition of some instruments of Satan; but accounting their malicious and causeless quarreling, the second marke of God's effectual working by my infirmitie, I have with mine heart and cheerfulness, laboured in the worke of God ... Nay a priest in controversie with my selfe, blasphemously averres (which testimony of Jesuiticall doctrines I will ever keep by me) that the Scripture was not written by the command of God, nor of set purpose but by chance."

¹⁸ For recent studies of *The Purple Island*, see, among others, Lana Cable, "Such Nothing is Terrestriall: Philosophy of Mind in Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island*", *JHBS* 5. 19 (1983), 136-152; Thomas Healy, "Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island* and the Poetry of Purgation" *RS* 5.3 (1991), 341-352.

Fletcher “the Spencer of his age” and Fletcher eulogises Spenser in canto vi. stanzas 51-52. In this work Fletcher demonstrates a not insignificant knowledge of anatomy. Indeed the metaphor of the body as an island is not without significance vis-à-vis the *Locustae* in that the envisaged dismemberment of James and the Lords (which would have been caused by the explosion of gunpowder) mirrors in a sense the consequential political and religious destruction which would have befallen another island — this time England herself.¹⁹

If Quarles termed Fletcher “the Spencer of his age”, it is perhaps equally possible to refer to him as “the Sannazaro of his age”. His knowledge of Sannazaro, already evident in the *Sicelides*, manifests itself more fully in the *Piscatorie Eclogues*.²⁰ Here once again the protagonists are fishermen and yet it is possible to detect in these and other eclogues an autobiographical undercurrent in that the names of Fletcher’s friends are frequently disguised in the form of pastoral characters. Thus Thelgon is the poet’s father; Thyrsil is the poet; Thomalin is John Tomkins.

As noted above, 1627 saw the publication of the *Locustae*. The first part in Latin verse is dedicated to Sir Roger Townsend, patron of Giles Fletcher, the brother of Phineas. The second part in English verse is dedicated to Lady Townsend and has prefatory verses by H.M., possibly Henry More. Two mss of the Latin are in the British Library. One of these (Harl MS 3196) is dedicated in Latin prose to Thomas Murray, provost of Eton (died 1625), and in Latin verse to Prince Charles. The second manuscript (Sloane MS 444) is dedicated to Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells. A third manuscript, owned by Mr Bertram Dobell was collated by Boas in his edition of the *Locustae*.²¹

Among Fletcher’s other works are: *The Way to Blessedness* — a treatise on the First Psalm, published in 1632; *Joy in tribulation*; *A conso-*

¹⁹ For an excellent discussion of dismemberment and the role of the body in Milton, see Michael Lieb’s recent study: *Milton and the Culture of Violence* (Cornell University Press, 1994), especially pp. 226-263.

²⁰ It is surprising and unfortunate that William J. Kennedy’s otherwise useful study *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of Pastoral* (New England, Hanover and London, 1983) completely ignores the work of Fletcher!

²¹ On p. xi of his edition of the *Locustae* (Cambridge 1927) Boas refers to Grosart’s comment in his edition of the poem (III, p. 509) that there existed another ms (wholly autograph) of the *Locustae* with a dedicatory epistle to Henry, Prince of Wales, which he (Grosart) hoped to use in his facsimile edition of Milton. Grosart did not fulfil this intention. On his death the ms passed into the hands of Mr Bertram Dobell who, in turn, permitted Boas to use it in his edition. For my edition and translation of all the dedicatory material, see Appendix I below.

lation for afflicted Spirits 1632. Fletcher's expertise as a neo-Latinist is evident in the *Sylva Poetica* 1633 comprising miscellaneous poems, elegies, and eclogues. This collection is dedicated to Edward Benlowes. To some degree the *Sylva Poetica* can be termed a self-referential work in that Fletcher frequently echoes and even reproduces in their original form certain lines from the *Locustae. A Father's Testament* was published posthumously in 1670. Fletcher also edited a previously unpublished poem by his father, *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae* (Cambridge 1633). Previously he had contributed verses to his brother Giles's *Christ's Victory* (1610) and to his friend Benlowes's *Theophila* (1632). Finally, it is likely that *Britain's Ida* (1627) described as by Edmund Spenser is in fact by Fletcher.²² There are several major parallels between this poem and Fletcher's other pieces. Fletcher died in 1650.

2. NEO-LATIN LITERATURE ON THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

Although modern scholarship is divided between those who regard the Gunpowder Plot as an authentic conspiracy and those who have aimed to prove that it was nothing other than an ingenious fabrication on the part of the government,²³ the fact remains that for seventeenth-century Protestant writers on the subject it was seen as a reality and an instance of divine preservation of both the king and the people of Britain. Furthermore it is evident that such authors regarded government accounts (in particular King James's so-called *History* of the

²² See in general Ethel Seaton, ed., *Venus and Adonis (Brittains Ida) and Other Poems by Phineas Fletcher* (Oxford 1926).

²³ There is a wealth of literature on the plot. For details of the conspiracy, see among others David Jardine, *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (London 1857); Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642* (London 1883-1899) I, pp. 234-262; *ibid.*, *What Gunpowder Plot Was* (London, 1897); John Gerard S.J., *What was the Gunpowder Plot* (London 1897); H.H. Spink, *The Gunpowder Plot and Lord Monteagle's Letter* (London 1902); G.B. Morgan, *The Identification of the Writer of the Anonymous Letter to Lord Monteagle in 1605* (London 1916); Hugh Ross Williamson, *The Gunpowder Plot* (London 1951); Christopher Devlin, "The Gunpowder Plot" in *Hamlet's Divinity and Other Essays*, intro. C.V. Wedgwood (Carbondale, Illinois, 1963), pp. 141-157; C. Northcote Parkinson, *Gunpowder, Treason and Plot* (London 1976). Among more recent studies are Jenny Wormald, "Gunpowder, Treason and Scots," *JBS* 24 (1985) 141-168; Mark Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester 1989) and Alan Haynes, *The Gunpowder Plot: Faith in Rebellion* (A. Sutton Pub., 1994).

plot)²⁴ as constituting the “official” version, so to speak — a point illustrated by the very existence of verbal reminiscences of these ‘factual’ accounts in Latin and vernacular treatments of the event.²⁵ It is, of course, hardly surprising that this plot above all others should have fired the minds and passions of Protestant writers — whether the ardent schoolboy struggling to produce an epigram as an exercise in elegiac verse-composition, the budding poet writing occasional pieces and simultaneously commenting on recent events, often giving them universal application, the skilful epicist having selective recourse to the entire epic tradition, or the talented preacher eager to instruct his audience both morally and intellectually, and no doubt aiming also to delight. What better opportunity for vibrant comment or royal encomium than this failed attempt to destroy God’s anointed king? What greater instance of Catholic *violentia* than this inexcusably barbaric use of force on the part of papists? What greater example of God’s favour than the seemingly divine and miraculous way in which the conspiracy was suddenly uncovered? Indeed what greater instance of the divine right of kings than the heaven-sent mental illumination whereby James was enabled to decipher and unravel an enigmatic letter? Here, if writers needed it, was an instance of God’s love and protection of Protestants — a viewpoint that was to permeate both literary and iconographical representations of the event. God’s ever-watchful eye could penetrate the deepest recesses of a conspiratorial cellar.²⁶ But before a consideration of genre, the prospective author had to decide the language in which to celebrate God’s great deliverance of his people. In Renaissance England that choice was in effect between Latin and the vernacular. It is surely not insignificant that the majority of these writers decided in favour of Latin — a decision which can also be regarded in the context of contemporary debate on the relative merits of Latin and the vernacular, not just in England but also on the conti-

²⁴ See Appendix II below.

²⁵ One such example is Francis Herring’s description of the letter to Monteagle at *Pietas Pontificia* 301-305, which follows closely the actual wording of the letter as described by King James in his *History* of the plot. It is interesting to note that the letter is quoted in full by John Vicars in his *Mischiefes Myserie* (London, 1617) — a translation of Herring’s poem (p. 34). For a discussion of Herring’s epic and ways in which it echoes James’s *History*, see pp. xxxiv-xxxix; lxix-lxx below.

²⁶ See, for example, my note at *Locustae* 702-706 below, which cites iconographical depictions of the uncovering of the conspiracy, in which the *oculus* of Yahweh detects and discloses the plot.

ment.²⁷ The use of Latin could ensure a wider and more learned readership. And learned literature this was, coloured by allusion at times mythological, at times biblical. That concept of the geographical “remoteness” of England vis-à-vis other countries, discernible, for example, in the Virgilian phrase *et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos* (*Eclogue* I 66), was echoed and indeed inverted by Latin and vernacular writers in England. It occurs, for instance, in Francis Herring’s gunpowder epic, *Pietas Pontificia*, as the poet develops the barbaric undertones of the Virgilian reference;²⁸ in government accounts of the plot;²⁹ even in John Milton’s description of himself to the Italian poet Manso as *missus Hyperboreo iuvenis peregrinus ab axe*.³⁰ But literary remoteness is a charge from which seventeenth-century English *litterati* were more than eager to escape. The very use of Latin in Renaissance England is in itself testimony to this desire for universal acclaim. The literature on the Gunpowder Plot is no exception to this rule, and

²⁷ Renaissance Italy, for example, had witnessed the conflict between those who admired the polished eloquence of Cicero and argued for the usefulness of Latin in all spheres of life, and those whose aim it was to defend the vernacular as a sufficiently eloquent language in itself. The use of Latin was defended by Uberto Foglietta in his *De Linguae Latinae Usu et Praestantia Libri Tres* (Rome, 1547) and by Carlo Sigonio, who published in 1566 his *De Latinae Linguae Usu Retinendo*. On the other hand, the case for the vernacular had been expounded in such an early work as Leon Battista Alberti’s *Della Famiglia* (1434). The vernacular is further defended by Valeriano in his *Dialogo della Volgar Lingua* (1524) and by Bembo, who, having been “converted”, as it were, to the cause of Tuscan and thereby contrasting with his earlier stance, published in 1525 his *Prose della Volgar Lingua*, the first book of which argues the respective cases for and against the use of Latin and Tuscan. The cases for Latin and the vernacular are fully expounded in Renaissance England. With the revival of learning, there was an increasing tendency to regard the English language, when compared to Latin, as barbarous and inadequate. In 1499 the Bishop of Durham had asserted that “our grosse natyve langage and specyally in dytemment of meter can not agree in all poyntes with the perfeccyon of latyn” (*The Contemplation of Sinners* [1499] *Prologus*). Similarly the Latin language was praised by Roger Ascham (*The Schoolmaster*) and Abraham Fleming, “Observations of Instruction”, prefixed to the index of John Baret’s *Alvearie* (1580). For a fuller discussion, see Haan, *Neo-Latin and Vernacular*, pp. 228–237.

²⁸ *Pietas Pontificia* 60: *et toto divisos orbe Britannos*.

²⁹ See, for example, *The Trial of Henry Garnet (State Trials*, in T.B. Howell, ed., *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, II [London 1816], p. 254): “And as that error was the cause of Adam’s exile from Paradise which was *hortus conclusus*; so had such another almost divided us and our heirs both from our lives and estates: *Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*”.

³⁰ *Mansus* 26. He proceeds to ask Manso not to spurn a *longinquam ... Musam* (27), nurtured beneath the icy Bear. All quotations from Milton are from *The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank A. Patterson, et al. (Columbia Univ. Press, 1931–1940), 18 vols. abbreviated hereafter to *CM*.

when it came to deciding the language, Latin was unquestionably the favourite. Quite obviously, a number of genres and indeed methodologies lay open to the artist (and some authors, such as Milton, were to implement more than one genre)³¹ — the terse epigram, the occasional poem, the “brief epic”, the prose treatise, the iconographical representation of the conspiracy (perhaps juxtaposed with a depiction of a previous plot against a monarch)³² or a sermon preached on the anniversary of the event. Classical precedent too would not be lacking. In epic “papists” or indeed Satan himself could be portrayed as hating and hounding James just as Juno had dogged Aeneas; James himself could be depicted as a second Augustus, restorer of peace and conqueror of fury. Ancient mythology also could provide useful examples of virtue overcoming mindless violence (for example, Hercules’s defeat of the monstrous Cacus), or (in Prometheus) the audacity of a mortal endeavouring to steal fire from the gods or (as in the case of the giants) seeking to disarm Jupiter of his very thunderbolt. Medium could be matched by skilful methodology, and there were many genres from which to choose. The most representative of these are 1) the epigram; 2) the gunpowder epic; 3) miscellaneous poems of an occasional nature. Common to all of these categories is a desire on the part of the author to emphasise the demonic, or more specifically, Satanic origins of the plot. But the traditional generic boundaries were frequently crossed. It will be argued that Fletcher’s gunpowder epic owes a debt to each of these genres³³ and that, combined, they form an integral part of the literary background of the *Locustae*. In short, it will be evident from the notes to this edition that Fletcher’s poem, while having an important subtext in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, also draws heavily upon an established tradition of the Gunpowder epic, echoes features of the gunpowder epigrammatic tradition, and bears some affinities to other Latin and indeed vernacular poetical and prose accounts of the subject. This is perhaps best defined as an extensive intertextual context whereby neo-Latin works discussed, indicate, in addition to homiletic writings on the subject and “official” government accounts of the whole, not so much

³¹ For example, Milton was to compose Latin epigrams and a miniature Latin epic on the Gunpowder Plot. See pp. xxiv-xxix; li-lvi below.

³² See Haan, *Neo-Latin and Vernacular*, pp. 125-129.

³³ Although not categorised generically, J.W. Binns provides a succinct list of neo-Latin poems on the Gunpowder Plot in *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (ARCA Leeds [1990]), p. 447, n. 31. I have discovered three further minor poems which he does not include.

“sources” for the *Locustae*, as the infiltration of that poem by a text or texts (both classical and Renaissance; both Latin and vernacular) or, more generally, by various kinds of discourse, both formal and informal.³⁴

a) The Gunpowder Epigram

The existence of a gunpowder epigrammatic tradition owes its origins to two equally important facts: firstly, it seems likely that the composition of Latin epigrams on the subject was set as an exercise at seventeenth-century schools and universities;³⁵ secondly as the event was, by government order, officially celebrated on an annual basis, it was quite natural that certain *litterati* might experiment with Latin epigrams as a contribution, whether private or public, to that yearly commemoration. It is evident, for example, that Milton’s five Latin gunpowder epigrams were composed during his Cambridge years (c. 1626), and likely that they are contemporaneous with his brief epic *In Quintum Novembris*.³⁶ The event was described in other epigrams which were probably not the product of schools or universities. A careful balance therefore must be struck. It would be a severe injustice to Milton and others to regard their Latin poems on the Gunpowder Plot as no more than academical exercises or solely as the product of Renaissance pedagogical methods, as unfortunately has only too often been the case.³⁷ As noted above, the use of Latin as a medium gave such works universal application in that their authors could convey the horror of a barbarous plot in a language read-

³⁴ See Barbara Johnson “Les fleurs du mal armé: some reflections on intertextuality”, in *Lyric Poetry*, eds. Chaviva Hošek and Patricia Parker (Ithaca and London, 1985), pp. 264-280. She states that “intertextuality designates the multitude of ways a text has of not being self-contained, of being traversed by otherness” (p. 264).

³⁵ See Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925* (New York 1940), p. 69: “Epigrams by the hundred were written at the time and the subject became a standard one for school exercises in Latin for years afterwards.” For Renaissance pedagogical methods, see in general Donald L. Clark, *John Milton at St Paul’s School: A Study of Ancient Rhetoric in English Renaissance Education* (New York, 1948; rpt., Hamden, 1964). For examples of school exercises of the period, see Milton’s *Apologus de Rustico et Hero* discussed by Harris Fletcher, “Milton’s *Apologus* and its Mantuan model”, *JEGP* 55 (1956) 230-233, and by Haan, *Neo-Latin and Vernacular*, pp. 23-35; see also William Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge 1958).

³⁶ See Douglas Bush, *A Variorum Commentary on the Poetry of John Milton: Volume I: The Latin and Greek Poems* (New York/London 1978), pp. 168-169.

³⁷ See, for example, John G. Demaray, “Gunpowder and the problem of theatrical heroic form: *In Quintum Novembris*” *MS* 19 (1984), 3-19.

ily intelligible to readers on the continent. While Fletcher did not, as far as we know, compose any gunpowder epigrams, it will become evident that the sardonic tone of the gunpowder epigrammatic tradition is not without significance vis-à-vis the rhetoric of persuasion employed in the *Locustae*. But the choice of Latin had another equally important function: Renaissance writers could now look back to the ancient Roman genre of the epigram perhaps best manifested by the Roman poet Martial. Here conciseness of phraseology was matched by wit. The ancient term “epigram” originally meant an inscription³⁸ (usually verse inscriptions on tombstones and votive offerings to the gods). This became an umbrella term for brief elegiac verses on one particular topic.³⁹ The tradition is best epitomised by such ancient poets as Callimachus, Meleager of Gadara, and Palladas of Alexandria. Anthologies of epigrams were made in the Hellenistic age and later. In this sense “epigrams” consisted of short elegiac poems, sometimes of no more than four lines. Meleager compiled an anthology from the work of forty-six poets. Although this is not extant, it served, along with others of its type, as a source of the *Palatine Anthology* — a work which was drawn upon by writers in Renaissance Italy and England.⁴⁰ Among ancient writers it is probably Martial who achieved supreme mastery of the form. He showed how a single idea might be expressed pointedly and concisely. Martial lashes out with much venom at gluttons, fortune-hunters, poetasters, debauchees and hypocrites. He had established an important precedent for neo-Latin (and indeed vernacular) epigrammatists in England.⁴¹ The established genre of epigram enabled an author to treat of a single idea in terms and tones that were frequently sardonic, ironic, or marked by invective, attack, rhetorical question and exclamation. Bradner has illustrated the existence of two main types of epigram in seventeenth-century England: the religious/sacred epigram (most notably represented by Richard Crashaw [1612-1649]) and the satirical epigram commenting upon certain types.⁴² Bradner is correct in identifying the work of John Owen as representing “the high-water mark of the Latin epigram in Eng-

³⁸ See H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. ἐπίγραμμα a) inscription; b) sepulchral inscription in verse, epitaph; c) commemorative inscription.

³⁹ See Liddell/Scott s.v. ἐπίγραμμα 2) *short poem usually in elegiac verse, epigram*.

⁴⁰ See J. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800* (Cornell Studies in English 23 [Ithaca and New York 1935]).

⁴¹ See T.K. Whipple, *Martial and the English Epigram* (University of California Publications in Modern Philology X [Berkeley 1925]), pp. 285-299.

⁴² See Bradner, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-98.

land".⁴³ It is quite natural that in Renaissance England the epigram, with its pertinent features of wit and attack, should be seen to be an apt way of ridiculing the conspirators, conveying in succinct terms their vanity and audacity, or sometimes even targetting the Catholic church or papists as a whole. Thus, in what was in effect a parody of the "religious/sacred epigram", a tenet of the Catholic faith might be seized upon and ironically inverted. (For example, in his well-known third Latin epigram on the subject, John Milton pokes fun at the Catholic doctrine of purgatory — a doctrine, he states, which was derided by king James, yet without which, according to Catholics, no one could get into heaven.⁴⁴ At the end of the poem however he turns this upon its head by depicting the conspirators as trying to send James into heaven in a single blast, and thereby, it is implied, defying their doctrine of the necessity of purgatory).⁴⁵ Milton's epigrams on the plot, in their mastery of form and content, constitute a later, and perhaps more refined, example of the recourse to the epigrammatic tradition. And this is interesting in that they are the product of a teenage poet who is already far ahead of his years in terms of poetic versatility. Earlier than Milton, however, the conspirators were presented in Latin epigrams as arrogant and ruthless usurpers of the power and authority of Christ and God the Father. The language and tone employed seem to have been echoed by Fletcher. In these earliest pieces authors employ humour, such as witty punning on the conspirators' names. Frequently, as was traditional in the Renaissance, the very use of gunpowder as a weapon is seen as equivalent to Prometheus's theft of fire from the gods.⁴⁶ One example of the implementation of the genre is a series of epigrams by Thomas Cooper entitled *Praeludia ad Nonas*. In all probability these are not school exercises. They constitute instead prefatory material to Cooper's *Nonae Novembris Aeternitati Consecratae*, a neo-Latin prose treatise on the subject published in Oxford in 1607. Two of these epigrams are marked by a baroque tendency for wordplay as they cleverly pun on the name of Fawkes. In the first, entitled *In Fauxum Incendarium*, "Fawkes" is equated with *fax*: he deserves this name in that he attempted to burn his homeland with flames (*Conatus patriam sceleratis urere flammis/quam*

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁴⁴ See below, pp. xxiv-xxix.

⁴⁵ *Nam prope Tartareo sublime rotatus ab ignilibat ad aethereas umbra perusta plagas.* (11-12).

⁴⁶ For parallels, see my note at *Loc.* 1-10 below.

bene deductum de face nomen habes!).⁴⁷ The second epigram (*In eundem*) draws an ingenious point of comparison between Fawkes and *fax* by inversion of the myth of Hecuba and Paris. According to this myth, Hecuba before giving birth to Paris dreamed that she would produce a fire-brand. Cooper by a clever inversion states that the mother of Fawkes thought that she had given birth to a man, but in reality she delivered a torch:

Visa tulisse facem est utere Priamea coniunx
lascivum praegnans sed tulit illa Parin;
At tua te mater gravida dum servet in alvo
visa tulisse hominem est, sed tulit illa facem.⁴⁸

It will be seen that this predilection for wordplay was to be a characteristic feature of the gunpowder epic and is perhaps most fully illustrated by Fletcher himself.⁴⁹ Other epigrams criticise Fawkes for his lack of remorse at the crime; others by contrast hymn the praises of King James for his ingenious interpretation of the Monteagle letter⁵⁰ (*Ad regem ex obscuris literis Pyrae Proditionis naturam coniectantem*).⁵¹ This theme is prominent in another series of epigrams — by Sir John Stradling. His gunpowder poems were included in his *Epigrammatum Libri Quattuor* published at London in 1607. Stradling too uses the device of punning — this time on the name of Monteagle⁵² as an eagle from the Mount of Jupiter who discloses the whole:

Ad nobilissimum et bonis auspiciis natum Monteglum cui horrendae coniurationis detegendae beneficium refertur

In tenebris opus infandum filii tenebrarum
dum peragunt, lucem terricolae fugiunt.
has Aquila ut de Monte volans casu Iovis ales
subsentit, tectos usque latere negat.

⁴⁷ Text: *Nonae Novembris Aeternitati Consecratae* (Oxford, 1607), 2'

⁴⁸ *Nonae Novembris*, 2'

⁴⁹ For other examples of Fletcher's puns, see my note at *Loc.* 610-613 below. Although Milton's Latin poems on the Gunpowder Plot do not have recourse to wordplay, it is noteworthy that some of his other Latin poems (especially *Ad Salsillum* and *Mansus*) do contain possible punning references to Salzilli (*salsa* [41]) and Manso (*mansueti* [60]) respectively. See Haan, "Written encomiums: Milton's Latin poetry in its Italian Context," *Milton in Italy: Contexts, Images, Contradictions*, ed. M.A. Di Cesare (*Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* [Binghamton, 1991]), pp. 521-547, at pp. 529, 535.

⁵⁰ For details of the letter and its contribution to the literature on the plot, see my note at *Loc.* 707-712 below.

⁵¹ Thomas Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁵² This pun was to be adapted by Fletcher *et al.* See my note at *Loc.* 707-712 below.

O fortunatos nato te, magne, Britannos!
 essemus nil nos, tu nisi natus eras.⁵³

Like Cooper, Stradling has an epigram in praise of the divinely inspired king. Again the focus is on the king's ingenuity and virtual prophetic powers:

Ad regem de coniuratione illa suo quasi divinitus dato augurio penitus
 perspecta

Instar mysterii vestras devenit ad aures
 littera Monteglo missa. relecta tibi
 ingenio sensum obscurum bene coniciis. o tu
 digne gubernaclo, rexque propheta simul!

The epigram can thus serve as a piece of laudatory writing, hymning the powers of a lord or a king. However those elements of invective pertinent to the tradition are fully exploited by Stradling, who is followed by Milton in this respect. In another epigram Stradling envisages the conspirators as assimilating on earth the thunder and lightning of Jupiter:

De coniuratione illa diabolica non. Novembr. 1605

Ulcisci altitonans urbesque hominesque scelestos
 intendens, tonitru et fulgure praesto facit.
 Iuppiter in Britanos terrenus fulmina mittens,
 frustra opus hoc alia tentat adire via.
 fulgura (pro mirum!) barathro minitatur ab imo,
 provocet ut superos infera turba deos.
 horruit anne ausus Titan plus cernere tantos
 an solem timuit turba maligna magis?

The potentially sardonic tone of the epigrammatic tradition is most fully utilised by James Johnson and by John Milton. Johnson's *Epigrammatum Libellus* (London 1615) contains a poem addressed to the pope himself,⁵⁴ in which the speaker conveys the arrogance of the conspirators in attempting to destroy lords and king in a single blow. The failure of the conspiracy is seen as an instance of divine protection and intervention. Like Stradling, Johnson implements the device of punning, firstly in the dual meaning of *flamen* (priest/blast)⁵⁵ and secondly

⁵³ Italics are mine. All quotations from Stradling are from *Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor* (London 1607), K6^r-K6^v.

⁵⁴ Johnson, *Epigrammatum Libellus Sive Schediasmata Poetica* (London 1615), B3^v

⁵⁵ Cf. Thomas Campion, *De Pulverea Coniuratione* I 132. This poem is discussed at pp. 1-11 below.

in the Fawkes/fax pun, which he develops to include the *fauces* of a wolf:⁵⁶

Ad papam de coniuratione pulveraria 5^o Novembris 1605

Siccine nostratem legem, regemque Iacobum,
 illam abolere studes, hunc adolere cupis?
 Siccine tot proceres pulvis bombardicus uno
 flamine confundat, papa sceleste, iubes?
 Sanctam sanguinea sic sedem caede profanas?
 Perdere sic hominum milia multa paras?
 At nos incolumes servavit rector Olympi
 a *facibus Fauxi, faucibus* atque lupi.⁵⁷

The general use of the question motif and the specific use of *siccine* at the beginning of a line provide a hitherto unnoticed parallel for the phraseology of the opening of Milton's second Latin epigram on the subject. Addressing Rome as a Beast hiding in seven hills, Milton ironically asks:

Siccine tentasti caelo donasse Iacobum
 quae septemgemino Belua monte lates? (1-2)

Sic is repeated as the poem concludes in a suggestion that gunpowder should be used to blow Rome's monks and idols up to heaven, for this is the only way in which they will ever reach it:

Sic potius foedos in caelum pelle cucullos,
 et quot habet brutos Roma profana deos,
 namque hac aut alia nisi quemque adiuveris arte,
 crede mihi caeli vix bene scandet iter. (7-10)⁵⁸

Indeed Milton's epigrams on the plot are of particular interest not only in that they represent a later example of the successful implementation of the salient features of the genre by a youthful poet, but also, I would argue, in that they have more universal application than the epigrams discussed hitherto. These succinct poems bear some noteworthy points of contact with a vernacular prose work by king James himself, thereby revealing a teenage poet implicitly paying homage to a monarch! The work in question is entitled *A Premoni-*

⁵⁶ Cf. the possible Fawkes/fax pun in William Gager's gunpowder poem: *Pyramis* 66-67: *et Orcifaucibus eripimur*. This poem is discussed at pp. lvii-lviii below.

⁵⁷ Italics are mine.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Paradise Lost* III 486-496.

tion, and was prefaced to the second edition (1609) of James's *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*. The first edition had been bitterly denounced by the great controversialist Bellarmine. Now James in turn attacks Bellarmine's viewpoint and critiques at length the papacy and, to a lesser extent, the attempt to blow up the House of Lords. I would argue for the existence of similarities between this work and Milton's gunpowder epigrams — similarities that seem to have escaped the notice of Milton scholars, the only acknowledgement being a brief note by Walter MacKellar, which rightly illustrates the fact that the third epigram's reference to James's contempt for the doctrine of Purgatory finds a specific parallel in the *Premonition*.⁵⁹ Milton's poem opens as follows:

Purgatorem animae derisit Iacobus ignem,
et sine quo superum non adeunda domus (*Ep.* III 1-2)

The emphatic *derisit* (1) vividly conveys James's scorn. In the *Premonition* James had dismissed the doctrine, calling it "trash", visualising it in a literal sense and ridiculing it:

As for Purgatorie and all the trash depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of; Bellarmine cannot finde any ground for it in all the Scriptures. Onely I would pray him to tell me; If that faire greene Meadow that is in Purgatorie, have a brooke running thorow it; that in case I come there, I may have hawking upon it. But as for me; I am sure there is a Heaven and a Hell, *proemium et poena*, for the Elect and reprobate: How many other roomes there be, I am not on God his counsell. *Multae sunt mansiones in domo Patris mei*, saith CHRIST, who is the trew Purgatorie for our sinnes: But how many chambers and anti-chambers the divell hath, they can best tell that goe to him.⁶⁰

Where James had quoted Christ's words that there are many mansions in His Father's *domus*, and had implied that Purgatory was excluded from these, Milton presents the Catholic viewpoint of the fire without which this *domus* cannot be reached (*sine quo superum non adeunda domus* [III 2]), yet emphasises James's contempt for the very notion. One of the key achievements of Milton's epigram is the contrast between the purgatorial fire (*purgatorem ... ignem* [1]) and the flames (*flamas* [8]) caused by the explosion of gunpowder as a means of reaching the heavens. Milton stresses the audacity of the conspirators, who attempt to

⁵⁹ "Milton, James I and Purgatory", *MLR* 18 (1923), 472-473.

⁶⁰ Text: C.H. McIlwain, ed. *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), pp. 125-126.

punish James by burning him in flames of an entirely different nature — an attempt which almost proved successful:

Et nec inultus ait temnes mea sacra Britanne,
 supplicium sprete religione dabis.
 Et si stelligeras unquam penetraveris arces,
 non nisi per flammam triste patebit iter.
 O quam funesto cecinisti proxima vero,
 verbaque ponderibus vix caritura suis!
 Nam prope Tartareo sublime rotatus ab igni
 ibat ad aethereas umbra perusta plagas. (III.5-12)

The structural progression of the epigram from the notion of the purgatorial fire cleansing the *anima* to a reference to the Gunpowder Plot, which in its use of fire for an essentially destructive purpose is an utter perversion of the concept, resembles a later passage in the *Premonition* in which James alludes to the “fire of Purgatory” as a means of cleansing the *anima* and follows this by a bitter attack against the Catholics’ hope of salvation, which seems to delude them into murder and evil conspiracies (such as the Gunpowder conspiracy). It is their very belief in the efficacy of the purgatorial fire that causes them to perpetrate crimes with an easy conscience. Important vis-à-vis Milton’s lines is the reference to the fire of Purgatory, the *anima* and a harsh criticism of the Gunpowder Plot, which in its blasting of powder is totally at odds with the aforementioned concept. James states that the soul is one of the precious “wares” of the Catholic Church:

... And of all those rich wares, the most precious is last named, which is the Soules of men: for so much bestowed upon Masses, and so much doted to this or that Cloyster of Monkes or Friars, but most of all now to that irregular and incomprehensible order of Iesuites; shal both redeeme his owne Soule, and all his parents to the hundreth generation, from broyling in the fire of Purgatory. And (I hope) it is no small merchandise of Soules, when men are so highly deluded by the hopes and promise of Salvation, as to make a Frier murder his Sovereigne; a young knave attempt the murder of his next Successour; many one to conspire and attempt the like against the late Queene; and in my time, to attempt the destruction of a whole Kingdome and State by a blast of Powder; and hereby to play bankrupt with both the soules mentioned in the Scriptures, *Animus* and *Anima*.⁶¹

This is not the only reference to the Gunpowder Plot. Near the beginning of the *Premonition* James speaks in greater detail of the conspiracy and of the many lives which it would have taken:

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

The never enough wondered at and abhorred POWDERTREASON (though the repetition thereof grieveth, I know, the gentle hearted Iesuite Parsons) this Treason, I say, being not onely intended against mee and my Posteritie, but even against the whole house of Parliament, plotted onely by Papists, and they onely led thereto by a preposterous zeale for the advancement of their Religion; some of them continuing so obstinate, that even at their death they would not acknowledge their fault; but in their last words, immediatly before the expiring of their breath, refused to condemne themselves and crave pardon for their deed, except the Romish Church should first condemne it.⁶²

Milton likewise envisages the many lives (of the King and the Lords) which the plot, if successful, would have cost:

Cum simul in regem nuper satrapasque Britannos
ausus es infandum perfide Fauxe nefas (*Ep.* I 1-2)

A further link is the depiction of the Church of Rome as the seven-headed beast of *Revelation* XIII 1.⁶³ In the second epigram Milton addresses the Church of Rome as a *Belua* hiding in its seven hills:

Siccine tentasti caelo donasse Iacobum
quae septemgemino Belua monte lates? (*Ep.* II 1-2)

In the third epigram Rome is depicted as a triple-crowned monster, gnashing its teeth and moving its ten horns:

Frenduit hoc trina monstrum Latiale corona
movit et horrificum cornua dena minax (*Ep.* III 3-4)

James had mentioned these precise features in the *Premonition*:

S. John indeed doth more amply, though mystically describe this Antichrist, which under the figure of a monstrous Beast, with seven heads and ten hornes, he sets forth in the xiiij. chap. ⁶⁴

Closely related to this is the emphasis upon the idolatry and profanity associated with the Catholic Church. Both Milton and James ridicule tra-

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁶³ W. MacKellar in *The Latin Poems of John Milton* (Cornell Studies in English, 15 [New Haven, 1930]), p. 243, quotes Bishop Jewel (1522-71), *Works* (Parker Soc. Pub. 2.915). Jewel cites the following extract from *Epist.* 125 of Bernard: *Bestia illa de apocalypsi cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, et bellum gerere cum sanctis, Petri cathedram occupat, tanquam leo paratus ad praedam*. Jewel adds the following statement: "These words are as clear as sunbeams. St John saith, Anti-christ shall sit in a city built upon seven hills. That city is the city of Rome."

⁶⁴ James I, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

ditional aspects of the Catholic faith. In the second epigram Milton gives Rome the epithet “profane” and presents her religious images and statues as “brutish gods”:

Sic potius foedos in caelum pelle cucullos,
et quot habet brutos Roma profana deos,
namque hac aut alia nisi quemque adiuveris arte,
crede mihi caeli vix bene scandet iter (*Ep.* III 7-10)⁶⁵

James had expressed his contempt for these and other traditional features of the Catholic Church. He sharply criticizes what he sees to be its utter profanity:

And such are the Amputation of the one halfe of the Sacrament from the people; The Transsubstantion, Elevation for Adoration, and Circumportation in Procession of the Sacrament; the workes of Supererogation, rightly named *Thesaurus Ecclesiae*; the Baptising of Bels, and a thousand other trickes: But above all, the worshipping of Images.⁶⁶

It is hardly surprising that this ironic tone and the emphasis upon the idolatry of the Catholic church should also be discernible in the gunpowder epic tradition — a tradition of which Milton himself is perhaps the latest example.

b) The Gunpowder Epic Tradition⁶⁷

Another genre which did not fail to win the attention of potential neo-Latin writers on the subject was that of the “brief epic”,⁶⁸ and it is to this tradition that the *Locustae* most clearly belongs. Now *litterati* could implement the devices of epic and use its elevated language to parody the conspirators’ failed attempt, while simultaneously heralding the kingship of James as a second Augustus. Neo-Latin epics on the plot are

⁶⁵ Cf. *Q. Nov.* 55-60 in which Milton satirizes the pomp of the Catholic Church, manifested in its papal procession and the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁶⁷ I have surveyed this tradition in a previous article: “Milton’s *In Quintum Novembris* and the Anglo-Latin Gunpowder Epic” *HL* XLI (1992), 221-250. The following summaries of the epics of Herring, Wallace and Milton are revised and expanded versions of those given in that article. See also David Quint, “Milton, Fletcher and the Gunpowder Plot,” *JWCI* 54 (1991), 261-268; Richard F. Hardin, “The early poetry of the Gunpowder Plot: myth in the making,” *ELR* 22 (1992), 62-79.

⁶⁸ The genre has been convincingly illustrated by Barbara K. Lewalski in her monumental work: *Milton’s Brief Epic: the Genre, Meaning and Art of Paradise Regained* (London, 1968).

marked by their strongly anti-papal tone and their use of epic, more specifically, Virgilian machinery and language. In viewing the plot as originating in hell and in depicting the conspirators as enlisting the help of demonic agencies, authors could echo such classical precedents as Juno's recourse to the infernal powers in *Aeneid* 7, as she summons the Fury Allecto and urges her to inspire *furor* on a broad front. Graphic depictions of hell as the home of evil conspiracies were not lacking. Statius's *Thebaid* had presented Pluto's fear for his *regnum*.⁶⁹ But of even greater significance are such works as Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* or Vida's *Christiad* — a neo-Latin epic on the Satanically inspired plot to cause the death of Christ.⁷⁰ Indeed it is important to note that Anglo-Latin authors freely adopted and remoulded the machinery and terminology of Renaissance, as well as classical, Latin epic. For example, one key device common to the majority of the gunpowder epics discussed below is that of the infernal council. In terms of indebtedness to classical epic (and this is particularly true of the *Locustae*), this can be regarded as a parody of the divine councils in Homer or, more specifically, that at the beginning of *Aeneid* X, as the notes to this edition illustrate. Of equal importance however is the specific precedent of a council in hell provided by Vida's *Christiad*.⁷¹ — itself a reworking of the Virgilian (and to a lesser extent Homeric) divine council-scenes. A brief

⁶⁹ See my notes at *Loc.* 29-30, 34 and 183-185 below.

⁷⁰ For links between this poem and Milton's brief epic, see Haan, "Milton's *Paradise Regained* and Vida's *Christiad*", *From Erudition to Inspiration: Essays in Honour of M.J. McGann*, ed. E. Haan, (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations* 5 [1992]), pp. 53-77.

⁷¹ See Gertrude Drake, "Satan's Councils in the *Christiad*, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*", *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis*, 1976 (Turin, 1980), pp. 979-989. Drake outlines several points of contact between the infernal council scenes in Vida's *Christiad* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. However her essentially brief analysis overlooks a number of more striking parallels. By limiting her discussion to the infernal council scene proper in Vida, she neglects an important but hitherto unnoticed aspect of Milton's *retractatio*. I would argue that *Paradise Lost* I and II draw upon, not only the infernal council of *Christiad* I, but also the council of High Priests in *Christiad* II, themselves operating under demonic influence and instigation. In other words, Milton conflates the demonic and the human in Vida to create a vivid impression of quasi-personified beings tragically aware of the indignity of their fall and, like Vida's priests, motivated by human emotions of fear, pride, resentment and anger. It should be noted at the outset that Milton's treatment is much more extensive and elaborate, although the conciseness of Vida's portrayal is impressive, compressing a wide range of material into a limited number of lines. Unlike the monstrous *centiplex* form in Vida, Milton's Satan is a subtly delineated fallen angel, forever recalling his heavenly origins, with a tragic appreciation of what is beautiful and a sensitive and poignant recognition of the pain that results from loss. Cf. Di Cesare, *A Milton Encyclopedia* (London/ Toronto [1980]) VIII. 136.

resumé will serve to highlight the importance of this Renaissance Latin precedent for the gunpowder epic tradition.

In *Christiad* I, Satan, obsessed by the mistaken belief that Christ intends to dislodge him from hell, anxiously seeks to avert what he views as a calamity about to befall his kingdom (I 122-127).⁷² As an attempted preventative measure he carefully plans (*meditatur* [I 128]) the death of Christ.⁷³ Vida however emphasises Satan's ignorance of the ultimate good that will spring from his evil. He is *demens* in that he cannot see that by causing Christ's death he is enabling the salvation of mankind to occur whereby Christ will atone for the sin (*culpa*) of Adam and Eve (I 130-132).⁷⁴ Decisive action is taken by Satan as he orders his crew to assemble at his royal palace (I 133-135). The demons immediately rush to the gates (I 139-140). The palace is marked by its regality (*ad regia .../limina* [133-134]), while Satan himself is a *rex*, governing a *regia* (165).⁷⁵ Vida proceeds to describe the physical characteristics of the demons. They are monstrous figures — half-man and half-snake, Gorgons, Centaurs, Hydras and Harpies *inter alia* (I 143-146), who possess (instead of hair) snakes which entwine themselves in knots about their necks, while Satan himself is a hundred-fold monster with one hundred arms. He belches forth fire from his jaws (I 147-149). Satan possesses a tragic awareness of the stark contrast between the dismal gloom of Hell and the serene light of Heaven, poignantly complaining that God is in possession of the stars and light of Heaven. He and his crew, by contrast, are surrounded by a wilderness pervaded by darkness (I 174-182).⁷⁶ It is equally noteworthy that the *Christiad* contains a second council — the demonically inspired council of High Priests. As book II opens, the High Priests, suffering from insomnia (their intense anxiety and fear prevent them from obtaining rest [II 1-4]) are vexed by the sight of Christ entering Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, and the widespread *fama*

⁷² A similar anxiety to that expressed by Vida's Satan is voiced by Beelzebub at *Paradise Lost* II 324-328.

⁷³ Cf. Milton's Satan who is "improved/In meditated fraud and malice" (*PL* IX 54-55).

⁷⁴ Contrast Milton's Satan at *PL* I 216-219, who "enraged might see/ How all his malice served but to bring forth/ Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shown/ On man by him seduced."

⁷⁵ Cf. *Chr.* II 546 where Vida infuriated C.S. Lewis by describing the room in which the Last Supper took place as *auratum, ingens, pictisque insigne columnis*.

⁷⁶ Cf. Satan at *PL* I 242-245: "Is this the region, this the soil, the clime./Said then the lost archangel, this the seat/That we must change for heaven, this mournful gloom/For that celestial light?"

of his miracles (II 5-8). While the Priests lie in a state of torpor, Satan and his demonic followers make for various quarters of the city — towers, the summit of the temple, streets, homes, rooftops (II 25-29). Vida describes in some detail their illboding influence upon mankind. They inspire a hidden *virus* in men's hearts — blind fury and hatred. Some assume the guises of men, causing nightmares and proclaiming lies (II 34-41). The priestly council is introduced by a description of Caiphaz seated on his throne at a level higher than the others (II 136-137). The audience includes *Tartareae ... pestes* (139) who incite and corrupt the Priests as they creep into their hearts. The huge temple resounds as conflicting viewpoints are aired. The participants debate the alternative methods of force or guile (*seu vi, sive dolo* [II 145]) as a means of bringing about Christ's death. The debate proper commences with Nicodemus's speech in favour of peace. He refers to the many miracles worked by Christ and his ability to counter with a mere word the severe tests of the Priests. This salutary advice awakens anger and violence in the audience. Thereupon Caiphaz rises and attempts to incriminate Christ by accusing him of violating the law and uttering blasphemy. He advocates death. His speech, unlike that of Nicodemus, meets with universal approval. There is an intense feeling of fury aggravated by the opportune arrival of Judas, who volunteers to assume full responsibility for the betrayal of Christ. As Nicodemus concludes, his audience begins to feel intense rage, and shouts and groans in anger. At this point Vida employs a significant simile, comparing their groans of fury to gunpowder attempting to escape from the cannon:⁷⁷

Tum demum erumpit quae cunctos ira coquebat:
infremuere omnes contra gemitumque dedere.
Qualiter aere cavo dum sulphura pascitur atra
inclusus magis atque magis furit acrior ignis,
moliturque fugam nec se capit intus anhelans;
nulla sed angustis foribus via nec potis extra
rumpere, materiam donec comprehenderit omnem,
tum piceo disclusa volat glans ferrea fumo:
fit crepitus; credas rupto ruere aethere coelum,
iamque illa et turres procul ecce! stravit et arces;
corpora et arma iacent, late et via facta per hostes.

⁷⁷ Cf. the gunpowder simile used of Satan at *PL* IV 813-819: "up he starts/Discovered and surprised. As when a spark/Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid/Fit for the tun some magazine to store/ Against a rumoured war, the smutty grain/With sudden blaze diffused, inflames the air:/So started up in his own shape the fiend."

Haud illi secus accensi meliora monentem
excludunt adytis atque extra moenia trudunt. (*Chr.* II 203-215)

There are several features in Vida's councils which find a parallel in the gunpowder epics: the angry Satan aware of the threat to his kingdom, paralleled by an embittered pope or the Whore of Rome or even Fawkes himself; Satan's grim sensitivity to the gloomy environs of hell as opposed to the radiant light of heaven paralleled and sometimes parodied by the conspirators' association with, and even delight in, darkness; demons seducing their victims paralleled in one conspirator recruiting another; high priests plotting death, paralleled in the pernicious conspiracy itself and its links with Jesuits, Franciscans and ultimately the pope himself; the use of rhetorical argument evident in the debating scenes proper paralleled by debates among the conspirators or in the Vatican itself! Moreover echoes of the *Christiad* serve to reinforce the doctrine of the divine right of kings, making an implicit parallel between the intended "victims" of the respective plots. Now King James shifts from being the saviour figure of Virgilian epic (Augustus) to a biblical saviour, a second Christ, the saviour of mankind. It will be seen that Fletcher's text interacts in particular with the *Christiad*, but also with a whole range of Latin epics specifically on the subject of the Gunpowder Plot. Indeed Vida's choice of simile is significant. Gunpowder itself epitomises *ira* (anger). In Renaissance England this anger is essentially the anger of Catholics — an anger that was longing to explode, like the powder in Vida's cannon. On a more literal level, the invention of gunpowder was seen as a Satanic act;⁷⁸ those who implemented it were evil. Thus demonic invention of, and Catholic recourse to, gunpowder are interrelated. The equation is obvious. The whole has come full circle.

The very composition of Latin epics on the Gunpowder Plot justifies an argument for the existence of an Anglo-Latin epic tradition — one which has not hitherto been fully realised. For example, Leicester Bradner's otherwise invaluable study fails to do full justice to the genre in Renaissance England.⁷⁹ The sceptic might indeed observe that the period is marked by the absence of a great work which might be termed the equivalent of, say, Vida's *Christiad* or Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis*.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See my note at *Loc.* 1-10 below.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 69, where he discusses "attempts at the epic."

⁸⁰ Among useful studies are B. Zumbini, "Dell' epica cristiana, italiana e straniera e particolarmente dei poemi del Vida e del Sannazaro," in B. Zumbini, *Studi di Letteratura Comparata* (Bologna 1931), 39-86; Thomas Greene, *The Descent from Heaven: A Study in Epic Continuity* (New Haven 1963; 2nd edition 1974).

Nevertheless, I would argue for the existence of what was a virtual school of pseudo-Virgilian gunpowder epicists.⁸¹ These poets used the form of the “brief epic”, a genre in its own right, as Barbara Lewalski has convincingly illustrated.⁸² And yet even Lewalski’s illuminating survey fails to take full account of this essentially Anglo-Latin school, one which was to constitute a mini-epic tradition in itself and would in its turn exert no small influence upon Milton’s poetry — both Latin and English. These authors moreover echoed not only the great masters of the classical epic, such as Virgil, but also Latin epicists of the Italian Renaissance, and, indeed, one another, providing yet another important, yet hitherto neglected, strand of the web of intertextuality of Fletcher’s poem. Fletcher, it will be seen, is an important inheritor and successor of this pre-existent tradition — a tradition that centred largely around Cambridge,⁸³ but was not confined exclusively to that world, and which is most obviously exemplified by Francis Herring, Michael Wallace, Thomas Campion, Phineas Fletcher and John Milton.

(i) **Francis Herring, *Pietas Pontificia***⁸⁴

Only one year after the event the physician Francis Herring⁸⁵ (c.1565-1628) published at London an epic poem of 493 hexameters entitled *Pietas Pontificia*. As its title indicates, this work satirizes the naive religious pride exhibited by papists — a pride that has lead them to resort to gunpowder. By implication Herring recalls and parodies the Roman concept of *pietas* — that sense of duty towards the gods, one’s country, family, and friends, most strikingly manifested by Aeneas in Virgilian epic. But “popish piety” is totally at odds with its Virgilian exemplar. How could this plot reflect love of God and country? Virgil had established a contrast between *pietas* and *furor*,⁸⁶ and yet it could be argued

⁸¹ Bradner, *op. cit.*, p. 69, does at least acknowledge that “the attention of poets was strikingly dawn to epic material early in James’s reign by the exposure of the Gunpowder Plot.”

⁸² See note 68 above.

⁸³ For the influence of the university world of Cambridge upon Fletcher and Milton, see the unpublished doctoral thesis of Gary M. Bouchard, *From Campus to “Campus”: The Relationship of the University World to the Literary Pastoral Worlds of Edmund Spenser, Phineas Fletcher, and John Milton* (Loyola Univ. of Chicago, 1988).

⁸⁴ For my edition and translation of this poem, see *HL* XLI (1992), 251-295.

⁸⁵ Francis Herring was educated at Christ’s College, Cambridge: BA 1585; MA 1589.

⁸⁶ See, for example, the Hercules/Cacus episode in book VIII and even the Dido/Aeneas encounter in IV where her *furor* is contrasted with Aeneas’s “pious” departure.

that the epic as a whole demonstrates the necessary co-existence of these qualities, even in Aeneas himself.⁸⁷ Herring, who will be followed by Wallace and Fletcher in this respect, seems to seize upon this Virgilian ambivalence to depict a Gunpowder Plot in which *Catholic pietas* and *furor* are represented as going hand in hand.⁸⁸

The poem opens with an invocation to the Muse and a prayer to God the Father for his approval upon the subject (1-8). Herring proceeds (9-20) to announce his subject: a dreadfully demonic *monstrum horrendum* (9),⁸⁹ begotten by Lucifer of the Whore of Rome and weaned by her on the milk of Rome. In lines 21-58 the Whore addresses her son, complaining of the sufferings incurred by her as a consequence of the behaviour of the British people, who have slighted her divinity. She resolves on vengeance and outlines the need for a subtle stratagem. She instructs him therefore to fly to England and to recall the British to her authority. At the provocation of his mother, the monster seeks to requite the great losses suffered by the papacy. Under the guise of a Jesuit,⁹⁰ he travels to England, entices his victims, assumes the form of Guy Fawkes, seeks to win over fellow-conspirators in crime, stating that the day of doom is fast approaching Calvinists and priests of Beza, and that soon the Catholic faith will be restored. The monster visits the royal court. James is described in his regal magnificence (80-86). After a digression on those who abuse the king's clemency (87-97), Fawkes meets Thomas Percy,⁹¹ who concurs with the plot. They swear an oath (97-104). The poet intervenes by issuing a warning to papists (105-112). Fawkes,

⁸⁷ Although the contrast is evident in the Aeneas/Turnus antithesis, it is somewhat ironic that at the end of the epic it is Aeneas who is marked by *furor*. His killing of Turnus in the dual scene is simultaneously an act of both *pietas* and *furor*.

⁸⁸ Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 194-196: *Tantane te pietas, sacrae tantusne movebit/religionis amor tanti ut laudabile facti/suscipias opus*; 346-347: *Ille* [sc. *Fauxius*] *nefas primum se religionis amore/Romanae aggressum*; Fletcher, *Loc.* 24 below.

⁸⁹ Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* III 658 (of the Cyclops).

⁹⁰ For a demon's disguise as a priest, cf. Abaddon's transformation into a Jesuit (Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 157-163); Satan's disguise as a Franciscan (Milton, *Q. Nov.* 78-89).

⁹¹ Thomas Percy (1560-1605). In spite of a Protestant upbringing, Percy was converted to Catholicism. He was appointed by Henry Percy, his second cousin, constable of Alnwick castle in 1594 and was befriended by the Earl of Essex. In 1602 he was charged with embezzlement. In 1604 he obtained a place at court in London. He married a sister of John Wright, a friend of Robert Catesby. As a leading conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot, he hired the building adjoining the House of Lords (24 May 1604) and afterwards hired a cellar. On the discovery of the plot a reward of 1,000/ was offered for his capture. He was wounded on 8 November while resisting government troops who attacked the house in which the conspirators were hiding. He died two days later.

changing his name to Johnson,⁹² wins over more conspirators (113-116). Having accomplished his mission, the monster returns to the Whore of Rome, is praised and furnished with further instructions (117-121). He proceeds to encounter prospective conspirators (121-141). The poet intervenes once more (142-146), conveying his horror at having to narrate such wickedness. Fawkes utters a lengthy speech (147-179): he states that if they kill only the king, his son, prince Henry, will succeed to the throne and wreak vengeance. There is a better way of ridding themselves of the present evils. Fawkes proceeds to describe the House of Lords and the great gathering due to take place there and finally suggests that the only way in which past wrongs can be avenged is to plant gunpowder beneath the House. His words meet with enthusiasm and applause (180-181).⁹³ Robert Catesby,⁹⁴ in particular, states that this is an excellent plan since it will bring destruction upon the very house which through its promulgation of laws has offended so many Catholics (181-188). Thus men are chosen to dig a mine underneath the house (189-197).⁹⁵ Thomas Percy hires a cellar, pretending to store coal and wood there. In the meantime Fawkes secretly transports gunpowder inside, camouflaging it with wood (198-201).⁹⁶ The conspirators await the fifth of November with trepidation and eagerness, ready to perpetrate a crime unparalleled in its barbarity (211-228). The poet intervenes once more (229-266), censuring the audacity and perfidy of the conspiracy as he envisages the havoc and suffering of a second Fall of Troy: London burning, streets full of armed men, corpses scattered everywhere, rivers flowing with blood, lamentation as mothers grieve at the death of their children. Suddenly however (267-276) the scene is elevated from the earthly and mortal to the heavenly and divine as God the Father looks down upon the conspiracy and decides to avert the disaster. He addresses his angelic host, informing them of the bitter consequences if the plot were to succeed (277-292). In order to avert the catastrophe he summons and addresses an angel, who is to warn the King of the danger

⁹² For Fawkes's use of the alias Johnson, see my note at *P.P.* 63-65.

⁹³ Cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 584-586.

⁹⁴ Catesby (1573-1605), son of William Catesby of Lapworth, Warwickshire. A man of ample means and an ardent Catholic, he was one of the conspirators. He was shot on 8 November resisting government troops who had invaded the house in which the conspirators were hiding.

⁹⁵ See my note at *Loc.* 617-620 below.

⁹⁶ See my note at *Loc.* 65 below.

and dissuade Lord Monteagle,⁹⁷ to whom a cautionary letter has been sent,⁹⁸ from attending Parliament. He must let the king know the contents of the letter. (292-308). The angel obeys by hastening to England (309-315). Monteagle discloses the letter to the Earl of Salisbury, who in turn tells others. Finally they bring the letter to the king. (316-322). The king, seeing this as a matter of great urgency, remembers rumours he has heard of unrest among papists, and suggests that the warning refers to gunpowder. He is eager to find out if anyone is inhabiting the adjoining building or if there is a cellar running underneath the house (323-346). The Lord Chamberlain investigates and informs the king that Percy is living next door and that there is indeed a cellar full of wood and coal (347-350). On 4 November Thomas Knyvet⁹⁹ searches the cellar in the pretence that he is looking for some royal vestments. He meets Fawkes at the entrance (351-363). Fawkes is arrested and the gunpowder is uncovered. They tear off the crucifix which is hanging around his neck and extract from his garments the implements with which he would have ignited the gunpowder (364-380). Rumour (Fama) flies through the city and proclaims the deed.¹⁰⁰ All praise God (388-391). Finally the poem concludes with a long hymn of praise and thanksgiving to God (392-452): he is the guardian of England; his right hand has protected the British in spite of their former sins. The poet prays that men's hearts may be mollified; that James may burn the Whore of Rome, spare his loyal subjects and subdue the arrogant: may he cause justice to flow like a stream, incur love and respect during his reign, and be famous after his death.

Herring writes as the royalist; James is the "prudent king" (*Rex prudens* [323]) while Rome epitomises all that is evil, a whore dwelling in Hell. It is on "the milk of Rome" that the Satanic monster is weaned (14). The narrative is marked by vivid and highly rhetorical language: for example, the whore's vituperative speech to her son (lines 21-58). Her role parallels that of Juno in Virgil's *Aeneid*, resentful at any slight to her divinity and eager to be avenged. Setting too is highly dramatic

⁹⁷ William Parker, fourth baron Monteagle and eleventh baron Morley (1575-1622).

⁹⁸ For the contents of the letter, see my note at *Loc.* 739 below.

⁹⁹ Thomas Knyvet (d. 1622). He was a gentleman of the privy chamber to Queen Elizabeth. He received an MA on her visit to Oxford, 29 Sept., 1592. In 1603 he was presented with the manor of Stanwell, Middlesex by James I. He was knighted on 14 March 1603-4. He was justice of the peace for Westminster. For his fidelity and role in the discovery of the plot, see James's *History* in Appendix II below.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 201-216.

matched by vivid imagery — Fawkes belching out virulent poison (*eruc-tat letale venenum* [115]). At other times Herring puts detailed descriptions into the mouth of Fawkes himself: for example, the description of the House of Lords and its members resplendent in their gleaming attire as they process (168-179). He conveys with realism the stark naïveté of the conspirators in their egotistical endeavours. Elsewhere he seems to be highly conscious of the genre in which he is writing. As Fawkes wins over his accomplices in crime he is likened to the false Sinon (*Mellita Sinonis/verba avide excipiunt* [77-78]; *vaftrum... Sinonem* [97]), the Greek schemer in Virgil, *Aeneid* II, who deceives the Trojans into admitting the Trojan horse within their walls. Herring even suggests a parallel between himself and Homer (*Da mihi Maeoniden* [234]) — the attempt to narrate the consequences of the crime, he says, would surpass even Homer's resources. Indeed he envisages the explosion as a second Fall of Troy (*flagrantem ... Troiam* [236]). Later, James on reading the anonymous letter to Monteagle, exclaims that some device is being built against them — perhaps another Trojan horse (*Surgit nova machina for-san. / vel Troianus equus ...* [332-333]). Consciousness of genre is evident on other levels also, for example, in the implementation of such epic features as the invocation to the Muse (1-5), the summoning of a *monstrum* and its subsequent flight, paralleling Juno's dispatching of Allecto in *Aeneid* VII;¹⁰¹ the *pater omnipotens*, a Jupiter figure, looking down from Heaven/Olympus upon events (267-274);¹⁰² his summoning of a winged minion.¹⁰³ A personal note is present also. Forever in control of events, the narrator intervenes to convey his horror at the cruelty of the plot: *Horresco referens totus* (142);¹⁰⁴ (*pro scelus!* [254]) and imagines with dismay the terrible repercussions of the plot — the destruction of London, corpses scattered all about, rivers flowing with blood, wailing in all homes and streets, and the grim prospect that there would be no survivor to lament the "corpse" (252) of London. But as the poem nears its conclusion Herring seems to move outside the world of epic to include a hymn of thanksgiving to God, which reads like a

¹⁰¹ *Haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petivit; / luctificam Allecto Dirarum ab sede dearum/infernisque ciet tenebris* (*Aen.* VII 323-325).

¹⁰² Cf. *Aen.* I 223-226: *Et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo/despiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentis/litoraue et latos populos, sic vertice coeli/constitit et Libycae defixit lumina regnis.*

¹⁰³ Cf. Jupiter's summoning of Mercury in *Aen.* I 297-300.

¹⁰⁴ For parallels in Virgil, Goodwin and *The Trial of Henry Garnet*, cf. my note at P.P. 142.

joyful psalm,¹⁰⁵ and a tripartite plea for (1) the British nation — may it be reverent; (2) King James — may he kindle the light of the Gospel, cause justice to flow, be loved by his subjects and achieve great fame and honour; (3) all the lords and people of the kingdom — may they eradicate Catholics “those Cananites, nurslings of the purple whore” (459-460).

It is noteworthy that Herring’s poem was to enjoy some success. A second edition appeared at London in 1609; it was translated into English verse by a certain A.P. in 1610¹⁰⁶ and then, more loosely, by John Vicars in 1617.¹⁰⁷ Another edition (of Herring/Vicars) was printed at Amsterdam and London in 1641.¹⁰⁸

(ii) Michael Wallace, *In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi Liberationem*¹⁰⁹

If Herring showed that the “brief epic” could serve as an apt medium for celebrating the deliverance of James from the plot, the teasingly elusive figure of Michael Wallace (otherwise known as *Valesius*)¹¹⁰ demonstrated that this could be done even more succinctly!¹¹¹ His gunpowder epic, bearing the not so succinct title of *In serenissimi Regis Iacobi, Britanniae Magnae, Galliarum, Hiberniae, &c. Monarchae ab immanissima Papanae factionis hominum coniuratione liberationem felicissimam carmen ἐπιχαρτικόν*, was likewise published at London in 1606. Although Wallace’s poem runs to only 435 hexameters, it develops

¹⁰⁵ Cf., for example, Ps. IX; XXVII; XXX.

¹⁰⁶ *Popish Pietie, or the first part of the Historie of ... the Powder-treason ... plotted against James, King of Great Britaine ... written first in Latin verse by F.H. ... and translated into English [verse] by A.P.* (London 1610).

¹⁰⁷ *Mischeefes Mysterie or Treasons Master-peace, the Powder-plot ... truly related ... And from the Latine of ... Doctour Herring translated, and very much dilated. By J. Vicars* (London 1617).

¹⁰⁸ *November the 5, 1605. The Quintessence of Cruelty or Master-peace of treachery, the Popish Pouder-Plot [in verse] Truly related ... And from the Latine of ... Doctour Herring translated, and very much dilated by J. Vicars.* (London 1641).

¹⁰⁹ I have edited and translated this poem in *HL* XLII (1993), 368-401.

¹¹⁰ Little is known about Michael Wallace, who appears on the title-page of his gunpowder epic as *uae maiestatis observantissimus Michael Valesius, in academia Glasguensi Philosophiae professor*. Wallace, who is not included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was awarded an MA at Glasgow in 1601, the year in which he became Professor of philosophy (Bradner, *op. cit.*, p. 70). In 1610 he acted as referee for a certain David Foules, a Glasgow graduate, seeking admission to Magdalen Hall, Oxford (cf. *Register of the University of Oxford*, ii. [pt. i] 373); J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow 1977), p. 373.

¹¹¹ Although, as we shall see, it was Milton who was most successful in compressing the details into a very brief “brief epic”.

much more fully than *Pietas Pontificia* the epic potential of the conspiracy. This is largely achieved through sustained *imitatio* of Virgil. Indeed perhaps the *Aeneid* serves as just as important a subtext for Wallace's poem as for the *Locustae*. Like Fletcher, Wallace transcends the traditional generic boundaries. The poem opens with a prologue (1-18), which is in effect a hymn to James. The speaker will sing a song of congratulations to this ruler of a united kingdom, invincible on earth and in hell. Moreover this is a song about the deliverance of king and kingdom from a plot more monstrous than any in ancient or modern times.¹¹² Once again, the plot finds its origins in Hell. After the customary invocation of the Muses, the poem plunges *in medias res* with a depiction of Satan jealous at the peace established under James's rule. In his anger he summons an infernal council. After a host of personified evils has congregated, Satan stands in their midst (19-35) and utters a lengthy speech (36-93), in which he rebukes his crew for permitting peace and prosperity to flourish. He draws their attention to the new Golden Age which has come to birth under James.¹¹³ James, moreover, like a second Augustus, (although the identification is not explicitly made) has spread his rule far and wide¹¹⁴ and has achieved peace and stability everywhere as he kindles the heavenly light of Christ¹¹⁵ and overthrows Satanic evil. Satan reflects on futile opportunities to kill the king: — the Gowrie conspiracy,¹¹⁶ en route to Denmark,¹¹⁷ the plots of Grey, Raleigh and Cobham.¹¹⁸ He has destroyed fierce nations before, but James alone has

¹¹² For the unparalleled barbarity of the plot, see my notes at *Loc.* 653-654; 656-657 below.

¹¹³ Cf. the description of Augustus as restorer of the Golden Age at *Aeneid* VI 791-795.

¹¹⁴ For the extent of Augustus's dominion cf. the comparison of him with Hercules at *Aeneid* VI 801: *nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit*.

¹¹⁵ Probably a reference to his version of the Bible. For the role of the Bible in seventeenth-century political, literary and economic thought, see Christopher Hill's excellent study: *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (Allen Lane 1993; rpt. Penguin 1994).

¹¹⁶ April 2, 1600. As James was leaving Falkland to hunt, he was met by Alexander, Master of Ruthven, who told him that he and his brother, Earl of Gowrie, had locked in a room in Perth a man with a pot of gold. Ruthven warned Gowrie that the king would come to investigate. On arriving, Ruthven led the king to a chamber and drew a dagger to kill him in revenge for his father's death. James raised the alarm by thrusting his head through the window, and was rescued by Sir John Ramsay, who stabbed Ruthven.

¹¹⁷ In the autumn of 1589 James, already married by proxy to Anne of Denmark, decided to go to Denmark to fetch her. He braved the North Sea gales.

¹¹⁸ Lord Grey of Wilton (and Wilson) plotted to seize the king at Greenwich, 24 June, 1603; Sir Walter Raleigh and Henry Brooke, eighth Lord Cobham plotted to dethrone the king and place Arabella Stuart upon the throne.

eluded him since he is divinely protected. He urges his crew to devise a means of disturbing the peace that has been achieved and of causing grave destruction. Wallace conveys the reaction of the crew to Satan's speech (94-98): an uncertain murmur ensues. Most are in favour of war upon God and man. Suddenly (99-113) Abaddon,¹¹⁹ one of the infernal crew, stands up. He is a monster of all savagery, expert in inciting hatred and causing man to murder fellow-man. He lays the foundations of the plot in a speech (114-144) in which he informs the crew of a nation which is particularly skilled in cunning and deception. He will choose a suitable person from this nation and lead him to the court of James. All applaud and praise Abaddon's plan (145-146). He leaves Hell followed by a train of personified evils. His flight is accompanied by a series of ill-omens: the Thames rolls its waves backwards and becomes sluggish; the clouds glow in the sky (147-156).¹²⁰ Next he transforms himself into a Jesuit (157-163).¹²¹ Fletcher proceeds to describe Guy Fawkes (164-170) as a resolute defender of Catholicism and very adept in perpetrating fraud. Fawkes is spied by Abaddon, who embraces him and pours his poison through a kiss (171-174). Abaddon next delivers a lengthy speech (175-245) in which he asks Fawkes why is he wasting his time in foreign shores when greater glory awaits him at home. The Catholic faith will never be at peace while James is on the throne. He must be removed. If Fawkes could achieve this great deed he would earn eternal glory. The means of destruction is an easy one. He describes the House of Lords and informs Fawkes that Parliament is due to meet there on 5 November. He and his accomplices are to dig an underground mine. If this is not possible, he is to hire a cellar beneath the House and fill it with gunpowder, stones and iron. These are to be ignited as soon as the King enters. Fawkes himself, whether he survives or dies, will receive eternal glory and be admitted into the company of the gods. Popes will dedicate churches in his honour. Fawkes agrees to undertake the task (246-249), leaves the Low Countries for Britain and recruits accomplices. They swear an oath, and sanction this by receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Then they proceed to dig a mine underneath the hall. After six months' work they come upon a cellar. Pretending to be merchants, they fill the cellar with gunpowder, iron and wood. Fawkes hides in a vault, ready to ignite the gunpowder (250-273). The poet intervenes

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Rev.* IX 11.1-3.

¹²⁰ For parallels in *Loc.* and *Q.Nov.*, see my note at *Loc.* 204 below.

¹²¹ Cf. *P.P.* 61-63; *Q.Nov.* 78-89.

(274-278), denouncing the monstrosity of the crime. Now the appointed day is at hand. The pale sun seems to indicate foreboding. James, the royal family, Lords etc. enter the House accompanied by a great throng. They are on their way to certain death (279-305). Suddenly (306-316) God the Father looks down from Heaven and pitying the calamity in store for the King and country, he foils the attempt. Lord Monteagle suddenly arrives, presenting to the King a letter which he has received anonymously, warning him to absent himself from Parliament unless he wants to die (317-329). The various reactions to the letter are described (330-338): some do not take it seriously. The King however ponders the matter very carefully. Inspired by divine providence he interprets it correctly as a reference to gunpowder. Men are selected to search the cellar (339-341). The plot is uncovered (342-352): Fawkes is dragged out. He holds a match in his right hand and states that his motive was love of his religion. After interrogation, he reveals his fellow-conspirators. Percy and many others are arrested, executed or imprisoned. There follows a Hymn of praise to God for delivering the King and people of Britain (353-356), and an address to Britain (357-387): may it forever celebrate that day when the king was delivered. Who could envisage the horror if he had died? The world would have been shaken, peace would have been destroyed, wars would have ensued and piety and justice would have been laid low. The poet states (388-391) that this deliverance indicates the Father's clemency and goodness. He proceeds to predict (392-395) that mankind will forever celebrate God in song. The whole concludes with a gentle exhortation to James (396-422) to acknowledge God as his leader and to eradicate all papists, cherish the pious and rule with justice. Finally (423-435) the British people will sing a hymn of joy at James's deliverance and (in a clever inversion of the motif — reminiscent perhaps of the tone and methodology of the gunpowder epigram —) pray that God will remove in a blast all those who threaten James's life. The final prayer is that James will be blessed with happiness and longevity, and that his heir will receive divine protection.

As stated above, Virgil's *Aeneid* serves as an important subtext of Wallace's poem¹²² (although, as we will see, it is not until Fletcher that Virgilian nuances are most skilfully manipulated). Now it is Satan himself who assumes the role of a second Juno, echoing her rhetorical

¹²² Cf. my notes at *Reg. Lib.* 64-65, 65-66, 70, 71, 72-74, 83-84, 100-101, 102-103, 103-104, 206, 238, 279, 342-343 375-376.

speeches.¹²³ As Satan conveys his resentment and anger at James's achievements Wallace simultaneously eulogises the king: he has restored holy justice; he has united different nations to his kingdom; he has kindled the light of Christ. Wallace goes further than Herring in providing more specific contemporary details. Thus he regards the plot as last in a series of plans to kill or overthrow the king (61-64); (72-74). Important also is his inclusion of an infernal council. Abaddon, a second Allecto,¹²⁴ sows the seeds of the conspiracy. Like the *meretrix* in Herring's poem, he has fostered and instructed the Roman nation. Fawkes is more vividly portrayed as the reader catches a glimpse of his military involvement in *The Low Countries* (164-166). The envisaged devastation which would be caused by the explosion is likened to that which ensued when Samson brought the palace crashing to the ground (219-222). Wallace also provides more detail as regards the gradual stages of the plot itself: for example, the receiving of the Sacrament of the Eucharist (256),¹²⁵ the digging of the mine for six months until the point when the cellar presented itself to them (262-65).¹²⁶ Like Herring, he intervenes, censuring the audacity of the crime (274-78). Much more vivid is the creation of atmosphere as the fifth dawns: the ill-omens provided by the sun which has lost its normal power,¹²⁷ and by contrast the brilliant presence of James, who resembles the morning star as he enters clad in his resplendent royal vestments. The prospective participants in Parliament are enumerated, and the royal party outlined: the King, Queen, Henry and Charles, Duke of York.¹²⁸ We see also the obstinate resilience of Fawkes as he conveys his regret that the plot did not succeed. Finally, Wallace's hymn of praise and thanksgiving to God is striking in its rhetorical repetition: of *o* in 353-354; *sive iaces* (three times) in 366-368; *lucem illam* (three times) in 369-371; *quanta, quantus* and *quantae* (388-389), and *hunc* (392).

¹²³ For example, lines 64-66 are almost identical to Juno's words at *Aen.* VII 296-298.

¹²⁴ Lines 100-104 are almost identical to the description of Allecto in *Aen.* VII 325-326; 335-38.

¹²⁵ For parallels in contemporary accounts, cf. my note *ad loc.*

¹²⁶ Cf. my note *ad loc.*

¹²⁷ Cf. the behaviour of the sun at the death of Caesar in Virgil, *Georg.* I 466-468: *Ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam, cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit, impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.*

¹²⁸ For a similar listing of those due to attend Parliament, cf. my note at *Pietas Pontificia* 218-222.

Why then did this poem, marked by its masterful use of language and subtle delineation of character, fail to enjoy a success comparable to that of *Pietas Pontificia*, its inferior counterpart? Does the answer lie in the fact that both poems appeared in the same year? Perhaps Herring had already established himself as a poet in a way that Wallace had not done? Why did no budding poet seek to translate (or rather paraphrase) Wallace's poem into English verse? Perhaps it was not very widely circulated. And yet I would argue that it is very probable that both Fletcher and Milton were familiar with this work.¹²⁹ Indeed is it perhaps this failure to provide a contemporary English version that finally sealed the poem's fate?¹³⁰ These answers may remain as elusive as its author. One final intriguing question remains: did the fate of Wallace's poem contribute to Fletcher's decision to provide his own English verse paraphrase of the *Locustae* and to publish them both together?

(iii) Phineas Fletcher, *Locustae vel Pietas Iesuitica*

Such then exemplify in part the epic tradition inherited by Fletcher. His treatment is much more full than that of either Herring or Wallace. (The *Locustae* is almost twice the length of their respective "brief" epics). These poets, along with such authors as Vida and Tasso, provided him with the necessary precedent, if indeed he needed it, of the implementation of epic and, in particular, Virgilian terminology to describe the failed conspiracy. The textual history of the poem is unusual. Although it survives in manuscript from as early as 1611,¹³¹ the eventual printed text of 1627 differs sometimes quite substantially from the three extant mss. The 1627 quarto also contains an accompanying English loose paraphrase entitled *Apollyonists*. Was Fletcher (vis-à-vis Herring) aiming to outdo his predecessor and his translators by showing that he could compose not only a Latin poem on the plot but also a felicitous paraphrase, and (vis-à-vis Wallace) taking necessary precautions to ensure the poem's accessibility not only to *litterati*, but also to those ignorant of Latin? If so, his precautions were successful, since both versions, but perhaps most notably *The Apollyonists*, received several printings in his day and have lived on in their own right, and also in fre-

¹²⁹ See Haan, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*", pp. 231-250 and pp. liv-lv below.

¹³⁰ There is no evidence that it was ever reprinted. Apart from my recently published edition, it survives today (as far as can be ascertained) only in a very rare volume in the British Library!

¹³¹ For the manuscripts, see pp. lxxviii-lxxx and Appendix I below.

quently unnoticed echoes by John Milton in *Paradise Lost*.¹³² For the purposes of this edition, I am viewing certain verbal and thematic parallels, between Fletcher and other gunpowder poems in Latin, as constituting an integral part of the intertextuality of his poem. Firstly, a brief summary of the argumentum of the *Locustae*¹³³ will serve to indicate that the “traditional” epic features and devices recur here, while the narrative progression of the piece mirrors, like those of his predecessors, the actual chronology of the course of events.

The *Locustae* opens with Satan summoning his infernal crew to a council (1-10). In a lengthy rhetorical speech he conveys his anger at the sight of England at peace and at the faithful godliness of her people, which in turn poses a threat to his “kingdom”. Reminding them of their former bravery, he proposes revenge and destruction (10-97). His speech provokes a universal buzzing among the audience. When all fall silent, Aequivocus, the most cunning of demons, rises from his seat to speak (98-119). In a speech which is even longer than the preceding address of Satan, Aequivocus states that all their previous attempts have proved ineffectual, urges for a novel method of attack, outlines possible victims of their assault and volunteers to travel to Rome and ensnare the pope. Satan is to make room in hell for new inhabitants (120-203). Accompanied by personified evils, Aequivocus leaves Hell, causing the sun to flee from the sky (204-221). The demons ensnare their victims one by one (222-252). The poet intervenes, lamenting the potential destruction (253-256). Aequivocus arrives in Rome and enters the Vatican (257-263). In a vivid catalogue of crimes the gradual stages of Rome’s rise to power are enumerated (264-366). Aequivocus inflames the pope, who in turn summons a council (367-379) and utters a speech in which he laments the losses suffered by the papacy and conveys his particular fear of king James (380-464). The speech is met with silence. As emotions are intensified one of the Jesuits, inspired by Aequivocus, stands up to make a speech (465-476). Recommending guile, the Jesuit announces that he is contemplating a crime which will surpass all others. He plans to blow up the king and his parliament (477-555). He describes the House of Lords and the opening of Parliament which is due to take place there, and volunteers to destroy King James and the entire Parliament with one blow, joyfully envisaging the suffering which this would cause

¹³² See Quint, *op. cit.* passim.

¹³³ For a fuller summary, see the italicised introductory sections in my notes to this edition.

(556-583). The plan is applauded by all and by the pope in particular, who promises a church in the Jesuit's honour (584-600). Aequivocus returns to hell (601-605). The Jesuit recruits his accomplices (606-616), who make the necessary preparations, hiring a cellar in which to hide the gunpowder and anxiously awaiting the day at hand (617-652). There follows an authorial intervention denouncing the cruelty of the plot (653-660). Finally as the fifth dawns, the royal family proceeds into parliament. The conspirators lurk in the cellar (661-701). But God the Father observing the plot from Heaven (702-706), summons a winged messenger, *Aquila*, who is to bear an enigmatic message. God will provide the king with the insight necessary to unravel the riddle (707-715). The Eagle obeys, flies to London and delivers the message to a Lord (716-738). Unable to decipher the enigma, the Lord brings the message to James (739-749), who interprets it correctly (750-753). The plot is consequentially exposed and the unrepentant Fawkes and his accomplices are captured (754-778). The poem concludes with a hymn of thanksgiving to God for protecting his people and for averting such a disaster (779-815), and praise of the peace-bringing James (816-836).

In its mastery of monologue and rhetoric the *Locustae* is unquestionably the most dramatic of the gunpowder epics. Long speeches serve to create atmosphere and establish character: for example, Satan's address to the infernal crew (10-97); the speech of Aequivocus (120-203) (whose name cannot but call to mind the Catholic doctrine of equivocation);¹³⁴ the pope's agitated address to his followers (380-464); the Jesuit's speech outlining the particulars of the plot (477-583). The poem through such *suasoriae* thus celebrates among other things the power of the spoken word and the rhetoric of persuasion. Fletcher develops, as indeed will Milton, the Roman context of the whole, giving a much more important role to the pope than either Herring or Wallace had done. Here the pope is fraught with apprehension in his frantic eagerness to avert disaster from Rome and from the Catholic church. In terms of epic devices employed, Fletcher adopts such features as the epic simile (98-106; 402-408); the flight of a demon (204-212), his arrival in Italy (257-263) and his return to Hell (601-605).

Fletcher's poem is marked by a careful structural symmetry which enables a skilful equation between Hell and the Vatican and between

¹³⁴ Cf. my note *ad loc.*

Satan and the pope. The following thematic¹³⁵ points of contact are discernible: both Satan and the pope are rulers who summon their respective subjects to a council; the proceedings of the council centre upon two speeches (Satan/ Aequivocus [in Hell]; the pope/Jesuit [in the Vatican]) and conclude in the flight of Aequivocus, the ensnaring of victims, and an authorial intervention, denouncing the monstrosity or barbarity of the whole. In a sense then the poem can be divided into two sections (1-263; 372-683) which are in effect interconnected in terms of imagery and content. Furthermore the proceedings in each of these respective locations are virtually parodied (in the third and final section) in the elevation of the whole to the divine plain and the depiction of God summoning a messenger; the subsequent flight of that messenger resulting in heavenly, as opposed to demonic, inspiration. It is this culminating device of the *deus ex machina* and the sudden and swift action of God that ultimately defy the powers of evil and enable the whole to conclude in a hymn of praise to God and to King James. The symmetry is evident in the following analysis:

HELL

A	Summons to council	(Satan)	(1-10)
B	<i>First Speech</i>	(Satan)	(10-97)
C	Reaction of audience	(noise)	(98-106)
D	Participant (Aequivocus) rises to speak		(107-119)
E	<i>Second Speech</i>	(Aequivocus)	(120-203)
F	Reaction of audience	(none)	
G	Flight of Aequivocus from Hell		(204-221)
H	Ensnaring of victims		(222-252)
I	AUTHORIAL INTERVENTION		(253-256)
J	Aequivocus arrives at Vatican		(257-263)

VATICAN

A	Summons to council	(Pope)	(372-379)
B	<i>First Speech</i>	(Pope)	(380-464)
C	Reaction of audience	(noise)	(465-470)
D	Participant (Jesuit) rises to speak		(471-476)
E	<i>Second Speech</i>	(Jesuit)	(477-583)
F	Reaction of audience	(applause)	(584-600)
G	Flight of Aequivocus to Hell		(601-605)

¹³⁵ As the notes to this edition indicate, there are several verbal links between the presentation of Satan and the pope and between Hell and the Vatican.

H	Ensnaing of victims + Preparations	(by Jesuit)	(606-652)
I	AUTHORIAL INTERVENTION		(653-660)
J	Royal family arrive at Parliament		(661-683)

This hitherto unnoticed structural symmetry is only one instance of the elaborate craftsmanship of a poet who frequently goes beyond his predecessors in a number of respects. Another example is his use of classical, more specifically, Virgilian epic. Fletcher's recourse to Virgilian language, while sometimes more implicit, though for the most part more explicit than Herring or even Wallace, is much more pointed. In an epic that recalls not only the *Aeneid* but also the *Georgics*, Fletcher's Virgilian echoes constitute not random parallels, but, it is felt, links that are loaded with heavy irony, as the notes to this edition will illustrate. In a methodological shift that works on both an intertextual and intratextual level, Fletcher, through his echoing of the *Aeneid*, is able to highlight (within his epic) the ironic equations already noted. All of these are set in direct contrast to the saviour pseudo-Augustan figure of James. Like Virgil's Augustus, James has closed the gates of war,¹³⁶ and like Virgil's Hercules he can expose a conspiratorial or more specifically Fawksian Cacus, and his attendant *fraus* and *furor*.¹³⁷ Satan can be either Juno¹³⁸ or more ironically Pallas, the epic's doomed warrior youth;¹³⁹ Rome can be at times the sower of those very weeds against which the diligent farmer of *Georgics* I is to be on his guard;¹⁴⁰ at other times a deceptive Proteus readily assuming a variety of shapes and sizes;¹⁴¹ the pope can be at times the angry Juno;¹⁴² at other times the doomed Nisus or Euryalus.¹⁴³ Virgil's epic had marked a progression from the fallen city of Troy to a rising city of Rome, from the past to the future, from loss to recovery. The Trojan connection underlies Fletcher's treatment. Thus the Catholic church, and, more specifically, the pope constitute in effect a second wooden horse of Troy intent on destroying rather than rebuild-

¹³⁶ See *Loc.* 821 n. below.

¹³⁷ See *Loc.* 767-769 n. below.

¹³⁸ See *Loc.* 1n. below.

¹³⁹ See *Loc.* 9n. below.

¹⁴⁰ See *Loc.* 286-287n. below.

¹⁴¹ See *Loc.* 323-326; 610n. below.

¹⁴² See *Loc.* 391-392n. below.

¹⁴³ See *Loc.* 584-591n. below.

ing, on “uncreating”¹⁴⁴ rather than creating, on dismemberment rather than rebuilding. It will be apparent however that Fletcher’s treatment owes almost as much to the neo-Latin and vernacular intertextual background as to Virgilian precedent. The epic’s use of the bible is also noteworthy.¹⁴⁵ This is most readily apparent in the choice of “Locusts” (*Locustae*) as its title. It is likely that Fletcher is echoing the account in *Revelation* IX 3 in which the speaker sees a great furnace, from the smoke of which there issue locusts, translated thus by king James: “And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.” In Fletcher the furnace is Hell; the locusts the conspirators (and to a certain degree Catholics in general). In the *Locustae*’s portrayal of Satan as an anti-hero,¹⁴⁶ one is reminded also of the statement in *Proverbs* XXX 27 that “the locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands.”¹⁴⁷ Indeed the identification of the conspirators with locusts finds a parallel in the gunpowder sermons of Lancelot Andrewes¹⁴⁸ and in John Vicars’s *Mischeefes Myserie*.¹⁴⁹ In addition, Fletcher’s title may recall the ravaging pestilential locusts of the Old Testament.¹⁵⁰ Links with the bible are evident on other levels also. These will be apparent in the notes to this edition.¹⁵¹ Like other gunpowder epics, the *Locustae* seems also to mirror contemporary vernacular writings: the government accounts of the trial¹⁵² and execution of the conspirators, the confession speeches

¹⁴⁴ Cf. the “uncreating word” of Alexander Pope’s *Dunciad*, a poem which through such terminology and metaphors seems to parody the progression of the *Aeneid* from loss to recovery: “Lo! thy dread empire, Chaos! is restored;/Light dies before thy uncreating word;/Thy hand, great Anarch, lets the curtain fall./And universal darkness buries all.” (*Dunc.* IV 653-656). For a discussion of this in relation to Virgil, Vida and Milton, see E. Haan, “From Helicon to Heaven: Milton’s *Urania* and *Vida*”, *RS* 7.1. (1993), 86-107 at 106.

¹⁴⁵ See, in general, Philip A. Gardner, *The Banquet of the Word: Biblical Authority and Interpretation in Spenser and the Fletchers* (Ph.D thesis, Univ. of Toronto, 1985).

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, my notes to lines 1-9 below.

¹⁴⁷ King James’s Version. Fletcher possibly refers to this version at *Loc.* 20-22. See note ad loc below.

¹⁴⁸ *XCVI Sermons* (London 1635), pp. 893, 1012, 1013. See my note to the titulus to the *Locustae* below.

¹⁴⁹ *Mischeefes Myserie or Treasons Master-Peece, The Powder-Plot* (London, 1617; rept., *The English Experience*, 317, Amsterdam/New York, 1971), part 2, p. 93.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *Ex.* X 4.1-2; X 12.1-2; X 14; X 19; *Lev.* XI 22; *Deut.* XXVIII 38; XXVIII 42.

¹⁵¹ For example, the weeds sown by the papacy (292ff.) are reminiscent of the wilderness to be tilled by Adam and Eve. Guile must be adopted, say the conspirators — a guile similar to that with which Delilah captivated Samson (501-506).

¹⁵² In particular James’s *History* of the plot, which I have appended to this edition.

themselves and the homiletic tradition most manifest in sermons delivered on the anniversary of the event.

(iv) Thomas Campion, *De Pulverea Coniuratione*

Thomas Campion's *De Pulverea Coniuratione* (Cambridge Sidney Sussex MS 59) is another epic treatment of the conspiracy. This work, for too long overlooked by Campion's editors, has only recently been rediscovered and edited.¹⁵³ The evidence for dating the manuscript is entirely internal.¹⁵⁴ The earliest date is 1612-1613.¹⁵⁵ The poem can cautiously be placed some time between 1613-1620, and more likely between 1615 and 1618.¹⁵⁶ In any case, it precedes the publication of the *Locustae* and therefore merits consideration as part of the epic gunpowder tradition inherited by Fletcher.¹⁵⁷ This "epical panegyric",¹⁵⁸ while drawing upon the machinery and frequently the terminology of Virgilian epic, seems to move outside that genre to incorporate hymnographical features. A brief summary will serve to illustrate ways in which Campion simultaneously draws upon and departs from the gunpowder epic tradition. Unlike previous "brief epics" on the subject, Campion's poem is divided into two books. Campion moreover goes beyond his predecessors in focussing upon certain individuals among the conspirators and in having personified virtues or evils as protagonists in the poem.¹⁵⁹ For

¹⁵³ David Lindley and Robin Sowerby, eds. *Thomas Campion, De Pulverea Coniuratione* (Leeds Texts and Monographs n.s. 10 [1987]).

¹⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, 2

¹⁵⁵ The poem alludes to the deaths of prince Henry (1.630) and John Harrington (2.120), (1612-1613). The puzzling question remains that if this is so, why did Campion not include the work in the second edition of his Latin works in 1619. One possibility is that Campion had secretly joined the Roman Catholic Church, a suggestion made by Leicester Bradner in *RES* 12 (1936) 322-323, and that this conversion led him to suppress the work. Another possibility is that it was completed too late for inclusion, which would place the poem quite precisely in the years 1619-1620 just prior to Campion's death on 1 March 1620. I am inclined to agree with Lindley and Sowerby, who regard this as improbable and see the omission as resulting from "an artistic rather than a religious motive."

¹⁵⁶ So Lindley and Sowerby at p. 4.

¹⁵⁷ Campion's Cambridge associations make it not impossible that Fletcher was familiar with this manuscript.

¹⁵⁸ Lindley and Sowerby, p. 5

¹⁵⁹ In this respect then Campion's poem differs quite substantially from the methodology of previous gunpowder epics, aptly summarised by Hardin, *op. cit.*, 77-78: "If the momentous event is the Gunpowder Plot, let there be epic machinery — a council of gods favorable and malign. Let there be eloquent speeches by the principals of both spiritual factions. Let there be scene-painting of the two warring *loci* on earth, Rome and England.

example, in book I it is False Religion who transmits the suggestion of the plot to Catesby, who in turn recruits his accomplices and announces the plot to them. Garnet is consulted and approves of the whole. A devil wings Winter all the way to Belgium. In response, Fawkes is sent across by Belgium. It is Fawkes who manages and supervises the beginning of the mining. There follows a richly allegorical scene in which True Religion offers prayers before the tomb of Elizabeth. She is assisted by a winged messenger from Heaven. The day of the Opening of Parliament is postponed as a consequence of the production of the Monteagle letter, which is ingeniously deciphered by James. Hence the plot is revealed. As book II opens the whole crime is exposed by Fawkes. The consequence of this is universal proclamation of rejoicing at the king's request. Suddenly however one of the plotters, Digby, eager to kidnap Elizabeth, invents a hunting expedition. The ghost of Ignatius seduces rebel spirits to arms. The faces of the conspirators are scorched by gunpowder. They are either slain immediately or are imprisoned. As might be expected, the conspirators are associated with the devil, but the poem is marked by a series of ironic contrasts: the struggle between the powers of good and evil as manifested in Satan and God respectively; the machinery of hell versus that of Heaven. As in previous poetical treatments, recourse is had to divine messengers. Campion places James very much at the centre of the whole affair and also seizes upon the key figures of the Plot. His work differs substantially from the gunpowder epics discussed hitherto. It is very much a poem of personalities, with specific echoes of contemporary vernacular accounts of the conspirators' trials, in particular the trial of Henry Garnet. As in Herring and Wallace, Campion provides authorial comment. In language that is frequently elevated in its rhetoric he conveys the divine-like ingenuity of James as opposed to the religious naiveté and delusion of the conspirators. Like previous epicists he favours wordplay, punning on such names as Ignatius (*ignis*); *flamen* (blast/priest).

(v) John Milton, *In Quintum Novembris*

Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* is, as far as we know, the last in the line of Latin epics on the Gunpowder Plot. Although it postdates

Let messages come from Satan and God in dreams or on the wings of angels. Let there be a portrait of the monster-villain (perhaps dredging up the underworld imagery of the *Aeneid*), an account of his downfall, a tribute to the victorious earthly king and his divine Protector."

Fletcher's poem, it is interesting as yet another example of a Protestant epic on the plot — an epic which of course reflects stock reactions to the event. Milton's poem is impressive in its economy of phrase and thought.¹⁶⁰ In a work less than half the size of the epics of Herring and Wallace and just over one quarter of the length of Fletcher's, Milton, while condensing and concentrating material, has still managed to create a very dramatic picture. Even more outstanding is the fact that this is the product not of a mature poet, but of a seventeen year old boy, as described in the poem's superscription — *Anno aetatis 17*.¹⁶¹ Milton's versatility as a Latin poet has frequently been acknowledged,¹⁶² but his gunpowder epic, the longest of his Latin poems, is surely a mark of the great skill with which he could commemorate in highly felicitous Latin a topical event. The question of Milton's possible debt to the *Locustae* has not been settled definitively. Although Milton's poem (if, as I believe, the traditional date is to be accepted), precedes that of Fletcher by one year, the *Locustae* nevertheless existed in manuscript from as early as 1611. Unfortunately, although the ms versions differ quite substantially from the printed text of 1627 none of these earlier ms phrases is echoed by Milton in his gunpowder epic (or indeed in his gunpowder epigrams). But parallels between the two works are certainly present. Indeed some scholars, for example, Tillyard, have regard Fletcher's poem as Milton's general model.¹⁶³ This is a misguided viewpoint. Others, for example, Douglas Bush,¹⁶⁴ take the other extreme, stating that resemblances are only such as would be inevitable in two poems on the same subject and composed by two protestant poets.¹⁶⁵ Demaray cites

¹⁶⁰ I disagree with Demaray, *op.cit.*, 4, who regards the poem as "an episodic and uneven Latin poem, a work which lacks effective structural unity".

¹⁶¹ I am accepting 1626 as the date of composition of Milton's poem. For a resumé of scholarly debate on the subject, cf. Douglas Bush, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169. On Milton's self-conscious dating of his Latin poems, cf. Louis L. Martz, *Poet Of Exile* (Yale 1980), pp. 39-43; Haan, *Neo-Latin and Vernacular*, p. 322.

¹⁶² For example, Samuel Johnson in his *Life* of Milton describes him as "eminently skilled in the Latin tongue" and "the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance" (*Lives of the English Poets* [Everyman 1975], p. 48). See also E. Haan, "Milton's Latin Poetry and Vida", *HL* XLIV (1995), 282-304, and "Written encomiums" *passim*.

¹⁶³ E.M.W. Tillyard, *Milton* (New York 1930), 22-23; see also J.H. Hanford, "The Youth of Milton" in his *John Milton: Poet and Humanist* (Cleveland 1966), p.101.

¹⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, 170.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Stella P. Revard, *The War in Heaven: Paradise Lost and the Tradition of Satan's Rebellion* (Ithaca and London, 1980), p. 94: "Milton probably did not have Phineas Fletcher's *The Locusts* or *Apollyonists* (1627) as a literary model, if the traditional date of 1626 is to be accepted for the Gunpowder poems."

the *Locustae* among the literary works which may have influenced (his term) Milton's poem.¹⁶⁶ E.S. Le Comte, is of the opinion that "Milton had probably read the *Locustae*".¹⁶⁷ By contrast, more recently, Hardin states that it is difficult to imagine Milton searching among the manuscripts of Fletcher.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless verbal and thematic similarities between the two works do exist, and I have cited these in my notes to this edition.

In general, it can be stated that Milton draws heavily upon the gunpowder epic tradition.¹⁶⁹ Like his predecessors, he sees Satan as the architect of the plot — a Satan who is angered at the sight of peaceful England, traverses the earth in an attempt to attract virtuous hearts to his evil ways, travels to Italy, views a papal procession and transforms himself into a Franciscan friar. He addresses the pope in a dream-vision, emphasises the gradual decline in papal control, alludes to the opening of Parliament and proposes that gunpowder should be placed beneath the House. The pope in turn assembles his followers and tells them to make ready for the great event. Meanwhile, however, God looks down from on high, laughs at the plot, summons a winged messenger, Fama, and tells her to divulge the truth. Fama obeys, the conspiracy is exposed and the poem likewise concludes with thanksgiving to God and festive celebrations to mark the event.

Where Herring (1-9) and Wallace (1-18) begin with the customary invocation, Milton follows Fletcher in plunging *in medias res*, but unlike Fletcher who introduces Satan himself, an impious king, Milton introduces James, the symbol of piety, the peace-bringing monarch who is *occulti ... doli securus* (6). In this respect Milton overlooks such plots as that of Watson or Cobham (exposed before the Gunpowder Plot), thus differing from Herring, who mentions the Watson plot (94) and Wallace, who alludes to the Gowrie conspiracy (61-62) and the Cobham plot (72). Moreover actual details of the plot are reduced to a bare minimum by Milton. None of the conspirators is mentioned by name (unlike Milton's first gunpowder epigram in which he alludes to *perfidie Fauxe* [2]); there are no references to the digging of the mine, the discovery of the cellar or even to the anonymous letter delivered to Monteagle. Instead the discovery is the consequence of the actions of Fama. The poem distances

¹⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, 8.

¹⁶⁷ *A Milton Dictionary* (New York 1961), pp. 157-58.

¹⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, 76.

¹⁶⁹ I have discussed this at some length in "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*".

itself from the intricacies of the narrative, although detail does occur in the description of the sulphur-breathing Satan with fiery eyes and grinding teeth (34-39), the Franciscan habit which he assumes (79-89), the grim parody of the Vatican with its rocks and unburied human bones (139-154), the pseudo-Chaucerian Tower of Fame (170-180) and the Virgilian description of Fama herself (181-193). Like Fletcher Milton focusses upon the essentially Roman context, placing the origins of the plot in an altercation between the disguised Satan and the pope himself.

There are several thematic and verbal links between Milton's poem and the gunpowder epics of Herring, Wallace and Fletcher. As I have illustrated these elsewhere,¹⁷⁰ a brief summary will serve to highlight ways in which Milton adheres to and departs from the tradition. Lines 1-4 in their account of the unification of three nations as denoted by the verb *coniungere*, the noun *sceptrum* and the adjective *Caledonius*¹⁷¹ find a parallel in Wallace (6-8).¹⁷² Milton, like his predecessors,¹⁷³ emphasises the *pietas* of James, contrasting it with the *impietas* of the pope and of Catholics in general.¹⁷⁴ Another point of similarity is the notion of an evil character recruiting his accomplices in crime. As Milton's Satan traverses the earth and seduces others, he parallels the demon in Herring, who likewise seeks out and ensnares his intended victims (68); later Fawkes wins men over to his deed (115-116). In Wallace, Fawkes recruits as his accomplices men already infected by Satan (252-253). Like his predecessors,¹⁷⁵ Milton echoes the speeches of Juno at *Aeneid* I and VII as Satan conveys his anger at the sight of peace. This is largely a consequence of the religious fervour nurtured by James — a point likewise made in Wallace (57-58) and Fletcher (20-22). One point of contrast between Milton's poem and the gunpowder epics of Wallace and Fletcher at least, is the absence of an infernal council, although perhaps the council of allegorical figures summoned by the pope at 139-165 could be regarded as a displacement of the infernal council. Like his pre-

¹⁷⁰ E. Haan, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*" 231ff.

¹⁷¹ *Iam pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto/Teucrigenas populos lateque patentia regna/Albionum tenuit, iamque inviolabile foedus/sceptris Caledoniis coniunxerat Anglica Scotis* (1-4).

¹⁷² *cui unitis coniuncta Britannia sceptris./Francia, Ierna subest, et iustis paret habenis/ sparsa Caledonio quaecunque est insula ponto* (6-8).

¹⁷³ Cf. Wallace, 41; 408-410.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. the ironic titles of Herring's poem (*Pietas Pontificia*) and also of Fletcher's epic (*Locustae vel Pietas Iusuitica*).

¹⁷⁵ For a listing of such echoes, see my note at *Locustae* below ad loc.

decessors, Milton conveys the detrimental effect of the flight of Satan upon the natural world.¹⁷⁶ Like Fletcher, Milton describes a procession of the pope and his *fratres*.¹⁷⁷ Satan's disguise as a Franciscan seems to draw upon Herring (61) and Wallace (157-163). Both Wallace and Milton describe the white hair, the long habit, and convey the notion that he has to pick his steps.¹⁷⁸ Milton also follows the general narrative pattern identifiable in most of the gunpowder epics: (i) the speaker emphasises the decline in the power of the Catholic church; (ii) he mentions the assembly which is due to take place in the House of Lords; (iii) he explicitly states that gunpowder should be planted there.¹⁷⁹ In Milton, as in Herring, Wallace and Fletcher, the plot meets with approval. However once again recourse is had to divine machinery. In Milton God looks down from Heaven, laughs at the conspiracy and wishes to defend the cause of his own people: *Interea longo flectens curvamine caelos/ despicit aetherea dominus qui fulgurat arce, / vanaque perversae ridet conamina turbae, / atque sui causam populi volet ipse tueri* (166-169). While this device finds a parallel in Herring (269-270), verbal links are with Wallace and Fletcher. Thus lines 168-169 of Milton constitute a chiasmic inversion of Wallace 314-315: *atque sui casum populi miserratus acerbum/impia pestiferae elusit molimina turbae*, while the reference to God's derision of the *vana conamina* of the conspirators echoes Fletcher's description of Christ's scorn in *Locustae* 256: *vana manu conamina ludas*?¹⁸⁰ In Milton God decides to terminate the event by revealing the truth in an enigmatic way. As in Herring and Fletcher, God summons and dispatches a divine minion. Like Herring (383-385) Milton refers to the utter amazement felt by mankind (216-219), while the recourse to Fama may echo quite generally Herring 388-391. Finally, Milton follows his predecessors in concluding the poem with a hymn in praise of God for averting the disaster.¹⁸¹ Milton's poem is a succinct concentration of the entire epic tradition.

¹⁷⁶ See my note at *Locustae* 204ff. below.

¹⁷⁷ For these parallels, cf. my note at *Locustae* 260 below.

¹⁷⁸ See Haan, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*", 239.

¹⁷⁹ Haan, *op. cit.*, 239-243

¹⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, 244.

¹⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, 246-247. For a summary of points of contact between Milton's poem and the epics of Herring, Wallace and Fletcher, cf. my diagrams at *op. cit.*, 248-250.

3 (a) MISCELLANEOUS LATIN WRITINGS ON THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

Occasional epigrams and poems form another important thread of the neo-Latin gunpowder literature.

Thomas Goad's *Cithara Octochorda Pectine Pulsata* (London 1605) is obviously one of the earliest examples of a lengthy treatment of the subject since it is dated November 1605. This poem is Horatian in nature, with many punning references to Fawkes. Another miscellaneous work on the plot is John Ross's *Apostrophe ad Praesens Tempus*, written before December 1606, although not published until 1607.¹⁸² In this pastiche of 439 lines Goad subtly fuses myth and history while simultaneously providing interesting points of detail about the physical appearance of the conspirators. The ghost of Cadwallader emerges from the Underworld and tells Truth (the nymph Alethia) of a miracle which he has witnessed, By some strange event a mortal has made his way into Hell. This is none other than Robert Catesby, who is seeking aid for the conspiracy. Equally vivid and even more grotesque is the description of Fawkes, who is a *monstrum* with a brow of bronze, a mind of iron and a heart of adamant.

Two other works can be discussed in this context of lengthier poetical treatments of the subject. These are the anonymous *In Homines Nefarios qui Parliamenti Domum Evertere Sunt Machinati* published at Cambridge in 1606, and William Gager's *Pyramis* (1608).

(i) Anonymous, *In Homines Nefarios qui Scelere Ausuque Immani Parliamenti Iampridem Habendi Domum Pulvere Bombardico Evertere Sunt Machinati, Scilicet Quinto Novembris* (Cambridge, 1606)

This anonymous poem is cast in hexameter verse. The speaker begins by announcing his intention to leave the earth and descend to hell (*tel-lure relictal/descendam ad Manes et subterranea regna*).¹⁸³ As he proceeds, he does not fail to voice his horror at the envisaged crime — a *facinusque nefandum/immane, horrendum*,¹⁸⁴ a *dirum nefas*.¹⁸⁵ Rhetori-

¹⁸² *Britannica, Sive de Regibus Veteris Britanniae* (Frankfurt, 1607), 70-85.

¹⁸³ All references are to the Cambridge 1606 text, from which the relevant folio and line number(s) will be cited. These lines = A2, lines 5-6.

¹⁸⁴ p. 3, line 20.

¹⁸⁵ p. 4, line 12. It is interesting to note the prevalence of the words *nefas* and *facinus* in general in the gunpowder poems. For a selective analysis of the vocabulary of the gun-

cal questions and vituperative language serve to highlight the audacity of the conspirators, whom the speaker addresses directly: *omnia rupistis divina humanaque iura/pro quibus impietas subiit rabiesque furorque*,¹⁸⁶ and imagines the fury and insanity that motivate them (*Quis furor, o cives, quae vos insania torquet?*).¹⁸⁷ By contrast James and the royal family are the epitome of regality, whose radiance is frequently contrasted with the darkness in which the conspirators delight. As the conspiracy is revealed, the speaker draws an analogy between the exposure of the whole and that of Cacus by Hercules in *Aeneid* VIII. The speaker asserts: *Sat tenebris noctique datum est; caligine pulsaliamdudum fraudes coniurataeque rapinae/caelo ostenduntur*¹⁸⁸ — an interesting point in that he anticipates Fletcher in this respect. James is invoked as the omnipresent protector of the British people, a second Octavian figure.¹⁸⁹

(ii) William Gager, *Pyramis*

In 1608 appeared William Gager's *Pyramis* — another lengthy Latin poem on the subject.¹⁹⁰ This work in praise of the fifth of November differs substantially in tone and overall perspective from the other neo-Latin writings discussed hitherto. The genre of epic while not totally ignored, is on the whole displaced by that of the hymn. The poem's title reflects a recurrent leitmotif of the whole, namely, that the day should be celebrated forever in the form of a monument — a pyramid. (*Pyramis ista tamen, Quinto sacrata Novembris,/(saltem animo defixa meo) chartacea stabit* [39-40]). Frequently this day is contrasted with other days which proved only too fateful. Echoing Psalm CXVIII,¹⁹¹ the speaker asserts: *Tu mihi es illa dies vere dicenda fuisset/quam fecit Deus ipse* (106-107). This day has expelled Cacus from his den (114-118).¹⁹² In

powder poems of Herring, Wallace, Fletcher and Milton, see Haan, *Neo-Latin and Vernacular*, pp. 286-304.

¹⁸⁶ p. 7, lines 16-17.

¹⁸⁷ p. 10, line 19.

¹⁸⁸ p. 15, 34-36.

¹⁸⁹ For example, the prayer *in caelum serus redeat* (p. 21, line 6) echoes Horace's prayer for Octavian at *Odes* I 2. 45

¹⁹⁰ See the edition and translation of *Pyramis* by C.F. Tucker Brooke, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 32 (1936), 247-349.

¹⁹¹ *Haec est dies, quam fecit Dominus: exultemus, et laetemur in illa.*

¹⁹² The analogy between the conspirators and Cacus is frequently made by the gunpowder epicists. See my notes at *Locustae* 763-764 and 767-769 below.

hyperbolic language the speaker proclaims his inability to do full justice to the day, imagines the effects of this day upon the natural world. It is always to be marked by the absence of every evil imaginable. The language employed suggests identification with the Golden Age (235-262). The poet however is faced with a moral dilemma. While he does not wish to speak ill of the dead, he nonetheless feels bound to speak. Gager goes beyond his predecessors in proclaiming to the full the divine right of kings, his abhorrence at the concept that any king should be subject to the papacy, and more specifically in depicting James in the light of the king (= queen) bee of Virgil's *Georgics*.¹⁹³ James's presence acts as a stabilising force in society, inspiring reverence, law and order. This analogy is highlighted by a bee simile.¹⁹⁴ In spite of its open criticism of a) the conspirators, who are specifically named — Catesby, Percy, Digby, the Winters, the Wrights, Rookwood and Fawkes, the originator of the plot; b) Garnet who is the object of a very lengthy diatribe; c) tenets of the Catholic faith, such as the doctrine of Equivocation, the genre of the hymn still stands — a hymn which is perhaps as much a celebration of the perennial powers of poetry as of the fifth itself. Of course, Gager had classical precedent for this theme in Horace, *Odes* III 30. There the speaker had asserted that he had constructed a monument more lasting than bronze, and higher than the pyramids built by kings — a monument that in effect constituted his own poetry.¹⁹⁵ Similarly in *Georgics* III Virgil had envisaged his projected epic as a temple.¹⁹⁶ The work is thus a self-referential piece, proclaiming among other things the powers of poetry to survive the ravaging forces of time.

Other poetical works related to the plot appear in anthologies. One body of such poems are the Cambridge and Oxford pieces on the death of the young prince Henry on the 6 November, 1612. This was published under the titles *Epicedium Cantabrigiense in Obitum Henrici Principis Walliae* (Cambridge 1612) and *Iusta Oxoniensium* (London 1612) respectively. Because the date of the prince's death was the sixth of November, some of the contributors link it to the fateful fifth of November, seeing both as dark days for the king, but the latter as even darker

¹⁹³ Compare, for example, *Pyramis* 871-891 with *Georg.* IV 210-218.

¹⁹⁴ *illi/mellificamus apes* (884-885).

¹⁹⁵ *Exegi monumentum aere perennius/regalique situ pyramidum altius,/quod non imber edax, non Aquila impotens/possit diruere aut innumerabilis/annorum series et fuga temporum.* (*Odes* III 30.1-5). Cf. Ovid, *Amores* I 15.

¹⁹⁶ *et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam* (*Georg.* III 13)

in that death proved a reality rather than a possibility. While then these are not to be regarded as gunpowder poems proper, they do nevertheless contain references and descriptions of the plot and thus fall into the category of miscellaneous neo-Latin poems related to the plot. J.W. Binns¹⁹⁷ mentions only two such poems as constituting gunpowder poems. I have in fact located another three in this collection unnoticed by Binns.

In *Epicedium* N2^r-N2^v there occurs a poem signed by a certain G.I. *Coll. Reg.* This poem, unnoticed by Binns, begins by stating that the fifth of November had portended ill for the English, but is now seen as a day of joy, and is celebrated annually. By contrast the sixth of November proved to be a real instance of death, and will be remembered annually as a day of mourning:

Anglis monstri aliquid portendit quinta Novembris,
sed scelus indicio proditur ante suo.
Dumque die hac Britonum celebrantur festa quotannis
laeta, nec in toto laetior orbe dies,
comparat insidias securis sexta Novembris
telaque mortifera lurida tabe gerit.
Excidium genti minitata est quinta Novembris,
principi at exitio sexta Novembris erat.
Dum patriam morti ereptam pia tura canebant,
ecce patrem patriae mors nec opina rapit.
Quilibet inde sibi communi clade timebat
gens se at in hoc uno tota perire putat.
Ergo erit illa dies tristissima iure quotannis,
vertet et in cineres gaudia tanta novos.

The *Iusta Oxoniensium* has one in a similar vein entitled *In quintum et sextum diem Novembr.* by a certain John King:

Romulus infausta menses superaddidit hora
ingeniique fuit triste, November, opus.
Et Numa terdenos male soles. Rectius esset
si voluit binos ille negare dies.
Paene fuit celeri leto rex proximus. O si
de nato liceat dicere, paene, mihi.¹⁹⁸

Another piece, again unnoticed by Binns, and signed “William Goodwin” draws similar points of contrast between the two days. This is cast

¹⁹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁹⁸ *Iusta Oxoniensium* (London, 1612) G4^r.

in hexameters as opposed to the elegiac couplets implemented by others who write on this theme. Goodwin anticipates Fletcher in equating the conspirators with locusts sent from the depths of Acheron:

Roma superba, furens, nullas nisi sanguine fuso
 novit inire vias. Ignes et fulmina, sulphur
 Tartareum arma parat, miscetque aconita venena.
 Pectore regali gladium iuguloque sacrato
 condere non metuit flammasque immittere templis,
 et regem et sobolem, proceres, patriam atque penates
 coniicit in cineres (quanta haec molimina!) flatu
 uno. Virtutis nomen scelerique nefando
 imponit meriti. Coeli sic scandere culmen
 instituis missas imo ex Acheronte locustas?
 Una dies vidit, vicit, sensit, superavit,
 iamque exultat, ovat, gestu iubiloque triumphat.

(1-12)¹⁹⁹

In 1620 George Goodwin published his *Melissa Religionis Pontificiae* at London. The ninth elegy P2^r-Q2^r is on the gunpowder plot. Entitled *De horrenda scelerum omnium licitatione et pulveraria apud Anglos prodicione*, it lists its argumentum as *Propter avaritiam sunt aurea saecula Romae; propter saevitiam ferrea semper erunt*. This is a personal piece set in the elegiac tradition, and marked by exclamations of shame or disgust at the horror of the crime. He outlines the unparalleled nature of the crime and exclaims: *Horresco referens, tremulus vox faucibus haeret/ quassa manus variat, mutaque Musa mea est* (7-8) Like the gunpowder epicists he frequently intervenes to proclaim the barbarity of the act: *Heu dirum, infandum, stygium damnabile factum* (23). He laments the terrible carnage that would have occurred: *O caedes, strages, cladesque incognita mundo* (25).

3 (b) OTHER NEO-LATIN POEMS OF AN ANTI-PAPAL NATURE

Other neo-Latin poems, while not specifically on the Gunpowder Plot, can be discussed nevertheless in the context of that tradition in that they frequently implement the devices and language of epic to describe the evil machinations of Satan as manifested in a plot against a monarch. The following examples of minor Latin poems of an anti-papal nature

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, A2^r-A2v.

seem to constitute another thread of the intertextuality of the gunpowder epic tradition. More specifically, it is interesting to note that of all the gunpowder epic poems, it is with the shortest “brief epic”, namely, Milton’s *In Quintum Novembris*, that parallels are most obvious.

(i) George Peele? *Pareus*

Pareus (1585), a poem of unknown authorship, though possibly by George Peele,²⁰⁰ uses the language and machinery of epic to describe the origins and eventual failure of the Parry plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth.²⁰¹ As was customary, the evil machinations originate in the depths of Tartarus with an embittered Pluto longing to disturb the peace which has been achieved and extremely indignant at the fact that England alone has refused to succumb to his evil power. Determined to cause trouble, he summons *Fraus* from the depths of Acheron and tells her to visit the pope and incite him to plot the assassination of the queen. *Fraus* obeys, arrives in Rome and creeps into the heart of the sleeping pope who, motivated by the force, summons Cardinal Como and in a vivid speech emphasises the gradual decline in his own power and the numerous persecutions which Catholics have suffered during Elizabeth’s reign. Como suggests Dr William Parry as suitable for the perpetration of the deed, visits him in Rome and wins him over to his purpose. Parry travels to Paris, is transported to England and makes his way to London. Now the poet intervenes, harshly rebuking the perfidy of the plot and imagining the bitter words with which his *Patria* would address Parry. Having been admitted to the queen however, Parry suddenly forgets himself and either overcome by remorse or stricken with fear, he betrays the entire plot. The poem concludes with an appeal to all the rulers of Europe to unite against the power of Rome.

As this brief summary indicates, *Pareus* anticipates the gunpowder epic tradition in its depiction of the infernal motivation for a plot involving treachery and murder, the temptation of the pope by an essentially evil force, the pope’s summoning of a second party and so on.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ “A Latin Poem by George Peele (?)” — This is the heading of Tucker Brooke’s edition of the poem in *HLQ* 3 (1939-1940), 47-67. Brooke (pp. 48-49) sees the poem’s opening lines (in the style of *Ille ego, qui quondam ...*) as a succinct summary of Peele’s *Tale of Troy*.

²⁰¹ For a brief account of the Parry plot, see George Carleton, *A Thankfull Remembrance of God’s Mercy* (London, 1625), pp. 81-87.

²⁰² Tucker Brooke remarks on p. 47 that the supernatural machinery is very similar to that which Fletcher and Milton introduced into their respective gunpowder poems.

Although in several instances parallels may be due to a common classical source, it is possible nevertheless to regard *Pareus* as constituting yet another part of the intertextuality of the neo-Latin gunpowder epic tradition. Perhaps it is Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* that is the closest of the gunpowder epics to *Pareus* in terms of language, style and overall use of epic machinery. The *Pareus*-poet sees Pluto as the instigator of the entire attempt. He is the *laetus regnator* (10)²⁰³ of the infernal world (depicted as *Plutonia .../ regna* [26-27]) and is closely associated with Acheron, from which he summons *Fraus*.²⁰⁴ The gunpowder epicists frequently present Satan as an alter Pluto.²⁰⁵ In *Pareus* Pluto is angry at the *gens una* which will not respect his *numina* and at the peace which has been established by the queen:

Viderat inferna laetus regnator ab unda
afflictas pietatis opes, atque omnia foedis
artibus et sacro late loca fervere bello;
solam autem immunem scelerum cladisque iacere
insulam oceano in magno; hic nam virginis altae
imperium et laetos pacem florere per agros.
Tum vero invidia mentem suffusus amara
sic secum: "Meane hanc unam modo temnere gentem
numina, nec ditas quicquam curare sorores?" (10-18)²⁰⁶

The same is true of the Satan of the gunpowder poems.²⁰⁷ Indeed in *In Quintum Novembris* Milton's account of Satan's ability to stir up trouble (*regnaque olivifera vertit florentia pace* [15]) seems to echo an indignant question put to Parry by the poet himself:

Verum ego compellem porro te: quid petis istis
saeve modis? num *regna pia florentia pace*?
anne caput *sacro perfusum regis olivo*? (215-217)²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Text is that of Brooke's edition. I have numbered the lines. Subsequent notes will cite the number of the relevant page and line in this edition.

²⁰⁴ *Sic ait, atque imis excitam Acheruntis ab oris/evocat ad sese Fraudem* (32-33) (Brooke, p. 54, 32-55, 1.).

²⁰⁵ Cf. *Q.Nov.* 8-9: *ferus ignifluo regnans Acheronte tyrannus/Eumenidum pater* — a phrase which clearly equates Satan with Pluto in that it echoes *Aeneid* VII 324-328, in which Pluto is named as the father of the Furies.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54, 10-18.

²⁰⁷ See in particular. *Q.Nov.* 31-34 and 40-42. In both poems Pluto/Satan cannot endure the sight (*viderat* [10]/*aspicit* [32]) of peace, and complains that the English are the only *gens* (*solam .../insulam* [13-14]; *unam ... gentem* [17]/*gens haec ... sola* [41]) which shows him contempt (*temnere .../numina* [17-18] /*mihi ... rebellis/contemptrix iugi* [41-42]).

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60, 18-20. Italics are mine.

It is as if Milton is stressing Satan's audacity by implying "Yes" to the *num* of the *Pareus*-poet's question.

Another parallel is provided by the theme of fraud, but there is one important distinction. In *Pareus*, *Fraus* is one of the *Dramatis Personae*, as it were: a personification summoned by Pluto. In the gunpowder epics, on the other hand, there is no such personification. In *In Quintum Novembris*, Satan in his attempt to ensnare mankind is described as the "master of frauds" (*fraudumque magister* [17]). While this is a stock phrase,²⁰⁹ it can be viewed against the background of the numerous references to *Fraus* in *Pareus*. The pope declares his intention to use fraud (*Fraude nova aggrediar* [96]).²¹⁰ He summons *Fraus*: *Evocat ad sese Fraudem* (33);²¹¹ *Fraus* in turn infects the pope (58-60). Later, Parry employs the same tactics (*fraudemque retecta/fraude tegit* [269-270]). When the plot is uncovered the poet states: *Haec finis fraudum* (426). Thus Milton's phrase *fraudumque magister* could be regarded as a subtle reminder, not only of the many different *fraudes* in *Pareus*, but also of the Pluto/*Fraus* partnership in that poem whereby Pluto was in fact the "master" of *Fraus*, summoning her and issuing commands. Finally, it is noteworthy that Milton's Satan says to the pope: *tu callidus utere fraude* (114).

It is also possible that Milton's presentation of Satan recalls the very behaviour of *Fraus*. Both are skilled in setting traps and ensnaring others through *insidiae*. In *Pareus* Pluto says to *Fraus*:

Tu potes insidiis invictos tollere reges
natorum, et iugulo laqueos innectere patrum,
letaeosque manu latices miscere marita. (49-51)²¹²

Satan possesses, and indeed exercises, some of these powers:

Tentat inaccessum sceleri corrumpere pectus,
insidiasque locat tacitas, cassesque latentes
tendit, ut incautos rapiat (18-20)

Pluto tells *Fraus* to travel to the "citadels of Romulus" (*Romuleas, i, scande arces* [45]). She flies away (*motisque per amplum/aera findit iter*

²⁰⁹ Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 204: *fraudis scelerisque magister*; 283: *fraudis, caedis scelerumque magistra*; Milton, *PL* IV 121: "Artificer of fraud".

²¹⁰ Brooke, p. 54, 30.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55, 1.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 55, 17-19. Cf. the words of Juno to Allecto at *Aeneid* VII 335-336: *tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres/atque odiis versare domos*.

pennis [53-54]), reaches Ausonia (*et tandem Ausonia nitens super astitit aede* [56]) and enters the *thalamus* of the sleeping pope (*ut limen tetigit thalami, multoque solutum/pontificem somno vidit* [57-58]).²¹³ Satan's movements are very similar. He seems to fulfil some of the commands which had been issued by Pluto. He too flies through the air (*piceis liquido natat aere pennis* [45]), reaches Ausonia (*et tenet Ausoniae fines* [49]) and significantly lands upon the "citadel of Romulus" (*Hinc Mavortigenae consistit in arce Quirini* [53]). As in *Pareus* (*limen ... thalami* [57]), there is a reference to the pope's *thalamus* (75). In both instances it is while the pope is sleeping that the newly-arrived demon works upon him. (*Pareus* [57-60]/*Q.Nov.* [74-80]).

Both poems contain a vivid temptation-speech which describes in some detail the persecutions which Catholics have suffered during Elizabeth's reign. In *Pareus*, the pope, having been seduced by the wiles of *Fraus*, addresses Cardinal Como and attempts to win him over to his point of view by stating that papal authority and honour have been trodden underfoot and by alluding to the fact that many *Sancti* have been put to death:

neque enim ignoras carissime (teque
 saepe meo memini mecum ingemuisse dolore)
 Romanas ut opes sola e tot regibus ausa
 prouerit, pedibusque meos calcarit honores.
 Quid memorem infandos ritus turpique madentem
 caede recens terram atque appensos turribus artus
 sanctorum et pilis praefixa trementibus ora?
 In regnis agit ista suis tamen: atque agat, opto. (79-86)²¹⁴

There are three features here which find a close parallel in Milton: (i) the notion of papal authority being trodden underfoot; (ii) a reference to the execution of *Sancti*; (iii) the fact that these evil deeds have taken place during Elizabeth's reign.

In Milton it is Satan (not the pope as in *Pareus*) who mentions these features — features which assume added significance and force in that the recipient of the temptation-speech is none other than the pope himself. Satan refers to *sanctorumque cruci tot corpora fixa probosae, / Thermo-doontea nuper regnante puella* (104-105), while at line 111 he announces: *sacraque calcabit pedibus tua colla profanis*.²¹⁵

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 55, 13; 55, 21-22; 55, 24; 55, 25-26.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56, 14-21.

²¹⁵ This specific notion of the pope's neck being trampled underfoot occurs in visual depictions of the interception of evil conspiracies, e.g. the title-page to George Carleton's

Both speakers emphasise the importance of trickery as opposed to open warfare: *hanc enim non validis regum, quae despicit, armis/ever-tam, aut caeco populi gliscente tumultu;/fraude nova aggrediar* (Par. 94-96); *nec tamen hunc bellis et aperto Marte lacesses,/irritus ille labor, tu callidus utere fraude* (Q. Nov. 113-114).

(ii) Thomas Campion, *Ad Thamesin*

Ad Thamesin (1595) by Thomas Campion is another example of a minor Latin poem which, though once again differing from the gunpowder epics in terms of subject-matter, is nevertheless similar in its use of epic devices and terminology to describe the origins and failure of an evil conspiracy. The subject of the poem is the defeat of the Spanish Armada (although the defeat itself is described in a mere nineteen lines). The most striking aspect is the vivid account of the infernal motivation for the plot, the brilliant portrayal of Dis and the epic framework in which the whole is set.

Campion's poem is in effect a poem of congratulations to the river Thames for the rout of the Spaniards.²¹⁶ The opening lines praise the river. Suddenly however the scene shifts to the underworld as Dis addresses his infernal crew and incites them to stir up trouble. He then flies to *Oceanus*, by whom he is informed of the great piety of the peace-loving English nation. On hearing this, Dis is utterly infuriated, and the physical aspects of his anger are conveyed in forceful terms. He proceeds to Spain and recruits his accomplices by causing them to look into the well of envy. The leaders of the Armada assemble, but before they set sail they are transported into the realms of the underworld where they are entertained at a banquet. When they do put to sea, a violent storm arises, the Armada is wrecked and the poem concludes with the praises of Queen Elizabeth.

A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercy (London, 1625). Here the *Ecclesia Vera* tramples upon the pope's neck. On the left is depicted the Spanish Armada; on the right, the Gunpowder Plot. It is interesting to note that the Pareus-poet refers to the power of *Religio nova* in lines 92-93: *Religio nova per terras caput altius omnes/extulit et ceu flamma Euro vivescit eundo*.

²¹⁶ The prose argumentum of the poem is as follows: *Totum hoc poema gratulationem in se habet ad Thamesin de Hispanorum fuga, in qua adumbrantur causae quibus adducti Hispani expeditionem in Angliam fecerint. Eae autem sunt avaritia, crudelitas, superbia atque invidia. Deinde facta Apostrophe ad Reginam pastoraliter desinit*. For a comprehensive account of the defeat, cf. Garrett Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (London, 1959).

It is hardly surprising that the gunpowder epicists mention the defeat of the Spanish Armada as an instance of God's victory over impious Catholics. Some contemporary engravings of the Gunpowder Plot placed it alongside the defeat of the Armada. The gunpowder epicists frequently equate Satan with Pluto. Thus the phrase *Eumenidum pater*, used by Milton at *In Quintum Novembris* 8, may assume additional significance in that Campion presents Dis, the *pater umbrarum* (20), surrounded by these very Eumenides (20-27). Campion's Dis addresses his infernal crew, urging them to give vent to their righteous anger. Perhaps of note also is the description of the flight of Dis. As he flies out of his cave he resembles a black cloud driven by the winds (39-41). As Milton's Satan flies through the air, the winds rush in front of him, the clouds grow dense and a thunderstorm ensues (45-47). Noteworthy also is the graphic description of the angry Dis. He groans, sighs, gnashes his teeth, while his eyes glow with a burning rage (*traxitque imo suspiria corde/Tartareus, spumaque oris barbam albicat atra* [69-70]; *fremens occoept acutis/obturbare senem stridoribus* [72-73]; *concussit piceos scabra rubigine dentes./Ardebant oculi* [74-75]).²¹⁷ Compare the reaction of Milton's Satan to the piety of the English people as described in *Q. Nov.* 31-39. He breathes forth *Tartareos ignes* (35); his eyes are aflame (*ignescunt oculi* [38]); he grinds his teeth (*stridetque adamantinus ordo/dentis* [38-39]). Campion outlines in allegorical terms the causes which inspired the Armada (*Avarities* [102-103]; *Caedes, Superbia* [120-124]). Milton has a list of personifications (*Dolus, Iurgia, Furor, Timor, Horror* [145-148]). These are in fact the members of the papal council and, as in Campion, are connected with the plot.

(iii) Alexander Gill (Jr) *In Ruinam Camerae Papisticae*

In Ruinam Camerae Papisticae,²¹⁸ by Alexander Gill, the younger, is a further example of a poem which may form part of the intertextual background of the gunpowder epic tradition. It is possible, for example, to view this work in relation to Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*. Although *In Ruinam* was not published until 1632, it is likely that Milton would have read the poem in manuscript (which because of the nature of the subject — an accident which occurred in 1623 — was

²¹⁷ Text is that of W.R. Davis, ed. *The Works of Thomas Campion* (London, 1969), 362-377,

²¹⁸ Published at London in 1632 in *Parerga sive Poetici Conatus*

probably composed in that very year), since he was a close personal friend of Gill, frequently exchanged Latin verses with him and had a high regard for his Latin compositions.²¹⁹ It is possible that Milton was familiar with Gill's poem, which is marked by its bitterly anti-papal tone.²²⁰ The piece takes as its subject an accident which occurred in London on October 26, 1623. One Sunday afternoon three hundred Catholics had congregated in an upper room attached to the French Embassy in Blackfriars in order to listen to a Jesuit preacher named Father Drury. As he was delivering his sermon, one of the floor joists collapsed and the congregation fell to the floor below with the result that almost one hundred people were killed.²²¹ Gill describes the whole in vivid detail, associating the Catholic congregation with Satan himself: *est locus ab atris qui vetus Fraterculis/traxisse nomen fertur/ his Satanas modolhabuit sacellum* (13015). Later he addresses Jesuits as *Satana oriundi, Iesuitae, semine* (64). He regards the entire *ruina* as an instance of God's punishment for the Gunpowder Plot. The link between the two events is possible because of the ten day discrepancy between the Julian and Gregorian calendars whereby October 24 (Julian) is November 5 (Gregorian).²²² Indeed Gill himself acknowledges this fact:

huc proprio infortunio
Octobris in vicesimo et sexto die

²¹⁹ Gill's Latin verse is frequently praised by John Milton, e.g. in his second Latin Letter (May, 1628): *Accepi literas tuas, et quae me mirifice oblectavere, carmina sane grandia, et maiestatem vere poeticam, Virgilianumque ubique ingenium redolentia* (CM 12, 6-8). See also Marguerite Little, "Milton's *Ad Patrem* and the Younger Gill's *In Natalem Mei Parentis*" *JEGP* 49 (1950) 345-351.

²²⁰ Scholars have acknowledged in a general sense the possibility that Milton may have echoed Gill's poem. D.L. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 88, speaking of *In Quintum Novembris*, states: "Whether it was or was not influenced by Gill or Gill's poem, it is nonetheless savage in its attack on the papists"; E.M. Tillyard, *op. cit.*, p. 10, asserts that Gill "was an adept at original Latin verse and must have incited him [Milton] to excel in that art."

²²¹ For an excellent discussion of the accident and its iconographical representation, see Alexandra Walsham, "The Fatal Vesper: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London", *P & P* 144 (1994), 36-87.

²²² See *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago 1974), II, p.740: "The disagreement between the Julian year of 365.25 days and the tropical year of 365.242199 gradually produced significant errors. The discrepancy mounted at the rate of 11 minutes 14 seconds per year until it was a full 10 days in 1545 when the Council of Trent authorized Pope Paul III to take corrective action. No solution was found for many years ... In 1572 Pope Gregory III agreed to issue a papal bull drawn up by the Jesuit astronomer Christopher Clavius. Ten years later, when the edict was fully proclaimed, 10 days in October were skipped to bring the calendar back in line."

(Atqui secundum computum Papisticum
Quinto Novembris) turba Catholica frequens
confluxit (15-19).²²³

It is possible to point out some links between Gill's poem and the gunpowder epic tradition, in particular, Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*. Both Gill and Milton allude to the power and authority which the Catholic Church wishes to achieve. In both instances this wish is described as the attempted restoration of the "age of Mary". Both poets pun on the phrase *Mariana ... saecula* whereby a link is drawn between two evil eras: the one, the "age of Marius" (Roman history); the other the "age of Mary" (English history): *Mariana precantes redire saecula* (*Ruina* 8); *saecula sic illic tandem Mariana redibunt* (*Q. Nov.* 127).²²⁴ Both refer in a different way to a *ruina*. In Gill this occurs in the title itself and later in the description of the actual accident: *ruina molis et fractae trabis* (41); *vasta ruinosi quondam fundamina tecti* (*Q. Nov.* 140). The noun *ruina* occurs at *Q. Nov.* 218 to convey the terrible destruction which the Gunpowder blast might have caused. Whereas in Gill God intervenes in order to cause a *ruina*,²²⁵ in Milton he does so in order to avert one.

4. VERNACULAR WRITINGS ON THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

The protagonists of this failed conspiracy and the actual details of the plot are ridiculed in vernacular writings of the period. The most obviously influential of these are a) government accounts of the whole — the so-called "official" versions of the plot — and b) Gunpowder sermons.

²²³ Text: *Parerga Sive Poetici Conatus* (London 1632). I have numbered the lines.

²²⁴ This punning phrase occurs in a passage which also mentions the nouns *divos* and *numina*.

²²⁵ Contemporary preachers had likewise seen the accident as an instance of God's judgement. Thomas Adams had delivered a sermon that very day on Luke 13.7, the cutting down of the fig tree. In a postscript to the published edition of this sermon Adams draws a specific link between his homily and the accident: "It pleased God Almighty to make a fearful comment upon this, his own text, the very same day it was preached by his unworthiest servant." (Text: Millar Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons* [Toronto 1958], 107)]. See also Thomas Goad, *The Dolefull Even-Song* (London 1623) passim. For a discussion of Fletcher in this context, see my note at *Loc.* 480 below.

a) Government accounts

It is not surprising that king James's *History* of the plot was to be echoed in neo-Latin poetic versions of the event. The *History* opens with an emphasis on piety and justice as stabilising forces in England just prior to the plot²²⁶

While this land and whole monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, as well at home, as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main good pillars of all good government, piety and justice, no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing ...

This recurs in poets' references to the increase in piety and, more specifically, in their descriptions of James himself as *pius*²²⁷ and in their emphasis upon the blessings of peace and *securitas* enjoyed by England.²²⁸ Another example concerns the contents of the Monteaule letter as described by James in the *History*. These are virtually translated into Latin by Herring (as the following italicised sections illustrate). James's version is as follows:

"My Lord; Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse, to shift off your attendance at this parliament. *For God and man* have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but *retire yourself into your country*, where you may *expect the event* in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be condemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, *for the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letter*; and I hope God will give you grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you."

Compare Herring at *Pietas Pontificia* 302-305:

quippe *hominesque deumque* simul sanxisse luendas
ordinibus scelerum poenas subitasque procellas,
se rus proripiat confestim eventaque spectet,
combusta nullum charta superesse periculum.

²²⁶ For the full history, see Appendix II below.

²²⁷ Cf. Wallace, *Reg.Lib.* 41: *En nimium pietatis amans rex ille Britannus*; 45-46: *en pietas et cana fides iam libera passim/incedunt*; Fletcher, *Loc* 23: *Crescit in immensum Pietas*; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 1: *Iam pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto*.

²²⁸ Cf. Wallace, *Reg.Lib.* 22: *placidas urbes pacataque regna,tranquilla et populos degentes pace*; 44: *en antiqua redit pax et concordia mundo*; Fletcher, *Loc.* 12: *cernitis ut superas mulcet pax aurea gentes?*; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 5-6: *Pacificusque novo felix divesque sedebat/in solio, occultique doli securus et hostis*.

The King had described his own reaction to the letter as follows:

The king no sooner read the letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it once again,²²⁹ he delivered his judgment of it in such sort, as he thought it was *not to be contemned*.

In Herring the king exclaims: "*Indicia haec non sunt temnenda*" (324).

It would be impossible here to enumerate every detail of the "official" Gunpowder Plot trials which are echoed in poetic versions, but a brief summary of the details most commonly recalled will illustrate the importance of these vernacular accounts: Fawkes's assumption of the alias Johnson,²³⁰ the unparalleled nature of the crime,²³¹ the envisaged destruction that would have been caused, and the idea that the explosion was to have happened in the very place in which anti-Catholic laws had been passed.²³²

As the notes to this edition illustrate, the official accounts aimed to depict the conspirators as grotesque monsters. This is mirrored in vernacular poems of the period. One of these is by a certain Edward Hawes. Entitled *Trayterous Percy's and Catesby's Prosopoeia*, this piece appeared in 1606. According to the title-page, the poet at the time of composition was a mere sixteen years of age.²³³ This poem sees hell as the origins of the plot. As its title indicates, the work centres upon two

²²⁹ It is possible that this phrase is echoed by Fletcher at *Loc.* 739-740 *Ille legens caeci stupuit vestigia scripti, atque iterum voces iterumque recolligit omnes*. In this instance however the subject is not the king but the Earl of Salisbury.

²³⁰ Cf. King James, *History, State Trials* II, p. 202: "giving himself no other name than John Johnson; *The Trial of Robert Winter etc. Jan. 1606, ibid.*, p. 159: "Guy Fawkes gent. otherwise called Guy Johnson"; *ibid.* 167: "for Guy Fawkes passed for a time under the name of John Johnson;" Herring, *P.P.* 63-65. See also *Loc.* 610n. below.

²³¹ Cf. *Indictment, State Trials* II, p. 164: "of such horror, and monstrous nature, that before now, the tongue of man never deliver'd; the ear of man never heard; the heart of man never conceited; nor the malice of hellish or earthly devil ever practised"; Attorney General, *State Trials*, II, p. 167: "It is *sine exemplo*, beyond all examples, whether in fact or fiction, even of the tragick poets, who did beat their wits to represent the most fearful and horrible murders"; *ibid.*, 176: "O barbarous, and more than Scythian or Thracian cruelty!"; *The Trial of Henry Garnet 28 March 1606, State Trials* II, p. 219: "The practice so inhuman, so barbarous, so damnable, so detestable, as the like was never read nor heard of, or even entered the heart of the most wicked men to imagine"; Herring, *P.P.* 215-217: *Singula si evolvas veterum monumenta librosque, barbariam totam perlustres, non tibi tantum, tam horrible occurret facinus crudele, perosum*; Goodwin, *El.IX* 14: *cui prior haud aetas audiit ulla parem*; *Loc.* 533-534: *non facinus vulgare sero quod nulla tacebit, credet nulla dies*.

²³² See *Loc.* 576-580n below.

²³³ Hawes is described as "Scholler at Westminster", a "youth of sixteene yeeres old."

of the conspirators, Thomas Percy and Robert Catesby — two hellish skulls. In a dream-vision these skulls are involved in a dialogue in which, enticed by the pope to perform their hellish deed, they exhibit their ruthless lust for power. Hawes draws points of contact between this plot and previous plots against monarchs. The piece is marked by the grotesque as the poet seizes upon the bloodlust of these characters — a bloodlust matched only by their very ghoulish existence in hell. Another very early vernacular treatment of the whole is the *Acclamatio Patriae* by a certain Richard Williams. This piece is noteworthy for its punning references to the conspirators²³⁴ — a device implemented by the gunpowder epicists. Here the conspirators are the pointed objects of the speaker's sardonic criticism.

b) Gunpowder Sermons

But perhaps it is the prose tradition of the Gunpowder sermon that most clearly highlights this aspect of the treatment of the plot.²³⁵ The existence of a wealth of homiletic material ultimately reflects the fact that the event was recalled and celebrated annually.²³⁶ These are of an extremely dramatic and sensational nature. Among preachers to deliver sermons on the plot were William Barlow,²³⁷ Cornelius Burges,²³⁸ Lancelot Andrewes,²³⁹ Jeremy Taylor²⁴⁰ and later John

²³⁴ For Williams's poem, see F.J. Furnivall, ed. *Ballads from Manuscripts* (London 1868), II.

²³⁵ For a useful summary of the gunpowder sermon tradition, see S.P. Revard, "Milton's Gunpowder Poems and Satan's Conspiracy", *MS IV* (1972), 63-77, reworked in her *The War in Heaven*, 86-107.

²³⁶ For a detailed discussion of the gunpowder sermon tradition, see Thomas S. Nowak, "*Remember, Remember, the Fifth of November*": *Anglo-Centrism and Anti-Catholicism in the English Gunpowder Sermons, 1605-1651* (Ph.D. thesis State University of New York, 1993); *ibid.*, "Propaganda and the Pulpit: Robert Cecil, William Barlow and the Essex and Gunpowder Plots" in K.Z. Keller and G. Schifffhorst, eds., *The Witness of Times: Manifestations of Ideology in Seventeenth Century England* (Pittsburg 1993), ix, pp. 34-52.

²³⁷ *The Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse, the tenth day of November, being the next Sunday after the Discoverie of this late Horrible Treason* (London, 1606).

²³⁸ *Another Sermon Preached to the Honourable House of Commons now assembled in Parliament, November the fifth, 1641* (London, 1641).

²³⁹ *XCVI Sermons by the Righ Honourable and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes* (London, 1635).

²⁴⁰ *A Sermon on the Gunpowder Plot, November 5, preached in the Church of St Mary the Virgin, Oxford, 1638* (Oxford, 1638; rpt. Da Capo Press, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* [Amsterdam/New York 1971] *English Experience* 354). See Hugh Ross Williamson, *Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1952), pp. 19-25; C.J. Stranks, *The Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1952), pp. 47-49.

Howe²⁴¹ and James Ussher.²⁴² Indeed the conspiracy was to be recalled long after the event in accounts of the later “Popish Plot” when “official” documents describing the Gunpowder Plot were reprinted.²⁴³ This tradition is perhaps most fully exemplified by the gunpowder sermons of Lancelot Andrewes.²⁴⁴ It seems very difficult to believe that the gunpowder epicists were unaware of the vast body of homiletic literature on the subject and that some of them did not read, if not actually listen to, such sermons.

The following discussion will focus on the sermons of Andrewes as most representative of the genre.

The depiction of Satan as the key motivating force behind the conspiracy and of the conspirators as virtual inhabitants of hell finds a parallel in Andrewes, who emphasises the Tartarean associations of the plot, presenting Satan as the instigator of the whole and localising the conspiracy in the depths of hell:

...we must not looke to patterne it upon earth, we must to hell; thence it was certainly, even from the devill. He was a murderer from the beginning, and will bee so to the ending.²⁴⁵

Tell me now, if this were not His doing, and if it should not have beene a day of His making, the Devills owne making?²⁴⁶

The link between the conspiracy and Satan is fully outlined in the fifth sermon in which the conspirators are called *Primogeniti Satanae*:

But (which is worst of all: for though the Rebell be evill, yet the Rebel-maker is farre worse:) He that raiseth up this new sect of Rebell-makers

²⁴¹ “A Sermon, Preached, November 5, 1703” in *The Works of John Howe* (London, 1863) vol. V.

²⁴² “A Sermon Preached before the Commons House of Parliament, in St Margaret’s Church, at Westminster, the 18th of February, 1620, First Printed in 1621”, in *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D.* (Dublin, 1847).

²⁴³ *The Gunpowder Treason: With a Discourse of the Manner of Its Discovery; And a Perfect Relation of the Proceedings against those horrid Conspirators; Wherein is Contained their Examinations, Tryals, and Condemnations: Likewise King James’ Speech to Both Houses of Parliament on that Occasion; Now Reprinted* (London, 1679).

²⁴⁴ For a comprehensive study of Andrewes, cf. Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes The Preacher (1555-1626): The Origins of Mystical Theology of the Church of England*, trans. Andrew Louth (Oxford, 1991).

²⁴⁵ Text: *XCVI Sermons*, p. 893. Cf. the viewpoint of Cornelius Burges, *op. cit.*, 1, that the plot is a “Master-peece of hellish invention”, or the comment of John Howe: “For what darkness, but that of hell, could have so much fire in it; so much of destructive rage and fury?” (*op. cit.*, 419).

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 895.

worse than Rebels themselves: For, if they be the brood of Belial, *Qui vias dant*, what shall they be, *qui vias docent*? Shall not they be *Primogeniti Satanae*, Belial's first begotten? That score out the way for destroying of Kings.²⁴⁷

In the same sermon their dwelling-place is represented as Hell itself:

Blow them up, they shall not, but blow themselves downe they shall; downe, after Coreh, the same way he went: Even to their owne place, with Coreh, and Iudas, to the bottome of hell.²⁴⁸

In the seventh sermon the plot is "So (indeed) a cruelty for the Divell himselfe."²⁴⁹ and in the eighth sermon it is a "devillish device."²⁵⁰ Another parallel is the emphasis upon the darkness which surrounds the conspirators.²⁵¹ Andrewes states:

... for, they want not some glistering pretences, as it were a false light, cast on the plot. But, goe to the bottome of it, and there it is *Caligo tenebrarum*, the very dungeon of darknesse: and, well, so: as being wrought in a darke cellar, under ground, by the sonnes of Erebus, in the skirts of Erebus itselfe.²⁵²

In darknesse they delighted (darke vaults, darke cellars) and darknesse fell upon them for it. And when they were out of their darke vault, found themselves in a darke prison; which they little thought ever to have come in.²⁵³

Closely related to this is the element of guile or treachery. Andrewes makes this point through the analogy of the Trojan Horse. Speaking of the cellar and the explosives, he states:

The uterus or wombe of it, crammed as full with barrels of powder, as was the Trojan Horse, with men of armes. This oddes onely. Every one of these children, every barrell of powder, as much, nay more force in it to doe mischiefe, than twenty of those in the Trojan horses belly.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 942.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 943.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 967.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 974.

²⁵¹ Cf. Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 413, whose sermon takes as its point of departure *Colossians* i.13: "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear son." On p. 414 he states "That the distinguishing characters of these two opposite kingdoms, the kingdom of the devil, and the kingdom of God's dear son, are darkness and light."

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 952.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 954.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 974-975

One of the most striking features of Andrewes's sermons is their actual tone — one which is often bitterly sardonic and heavily ironic. As might be expected, these works are packed with harsh invective against the conspirators, who are presented as audaciously impudent, presumptuous, self-confident, yet ultimately weak and blind to the power of God. Andrewes conveys his horror at the audacity of the attempt:

... but, this should have fetched up foundations and ground, and all ...²⁵⁵

He stresses the folly of the undertaking:

... to fight against GOD, to kicke against the pricke, that is folly and madnesse (I am sure). Ye may returne them all for fooles, that goe about it. That thinke with their devices to out-reach Him, whose folly is wiser than their wisdom. Or by their practices to over-bear Him, whose weakenesse is stronger than their strength: He will be too hard for them, doe what they can.²⁵⁶

In the sixth sermon he asserts:

But, if it make *Time Deum*, to blow up *Time Regem*; make the Catholike faith, to overthrow the Catholike feare of GOD (for, both I trust, be alike Catholike); if they perswade men, that the King, and the whole Parliament must up, or the feare of GOD cannot stand: they are out of this Text quite.²⁵⁷

Andrewes never ceases to condemn the barbarity of the act. He compares the conspirators to insects or wild beasts. In his first sermon he compares them to a swarm of locusts:

The instruments (not as in his [David's], a swarme of Bees), but a swarme of Locusts, out of the infernall pit.²⁵⁸

He also compares them to tigers:

... How then? Beasts: There were at Ephesus, beasts in the shape of men ... This is more than brutish; What Tiger, though never so iraged, would have made the like havock?²⁵⁹

Like the gunpowder epicists, Andrewes conveys the false piety of the Catholic church, seeing the plot as totally at odds with any form of religious practice:

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 921.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 943.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 949.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 893.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 893.

... for, if the Commandement be, Feare GOD, and medle not; one cannot doe both; both be a medler, and yet feare GOD, though. He cannot say (with the medlers of this day) Yes, yes: medle with the Powder-plot, and yet be a good Catholike.²⁶⁰

Later, he conveys his abhorrence at the fact that the conspirators used (or rather abused) the sacraments to solemnise their oath.

Like the epicists, Andrewes depicts God looking down from heaven upon the evil deeds of Satan and his followers:

He that sat in heaven all this while, and from thence looked downe and saw all this doing of the devill and his lims, in that mercy of His, which is over all his workes, to save the effusion of so much bloud, to preserve the soules of so many innocents, to keepe this land from so foule a confusion ... he tooke the matter into his owne hand. And, if ever God shewed, that He had a hook in the Leviathan's nose; that the Devill can goe no further than his chaine: if ever, that there is in Him more power to helpe, than in Sathan to hurt, in this, he did it. And, as the devils clawes to be seene in the former; so God's right-hand, in this mighty thing (He brought to passe) and all the fingers of it.²⁶¹

The theme of God's mercy plays a prominent role in Andrewes:

And here now is Mercy right, in kind ... the mercy of the bird of mercy, that is the Pelicans mercy.²⁶²

They had thought to have had the Day; but, to the high praise of His mercy, and to the confusion of Satan and all his cruelty, He gave order, Mercy should have the Day: and she had it, that there might be a mercy, *super omnia*, above this Cruelty *super omnia*: as there was.²⁶³

Andrewes conveys the sudden nature of the divine intervention. There is a direct contrast between the intricate details of the conspiracy and the swiftness of God's action. Just when success seems likely, God suddenly intercepts the entire attempt:

Sudden things confound, and are therefore the more fearfull. Fit, this againe; These would have brought all to confusion (what a confusion had there beene this day?) Meet therefore they should be amazed with the suddennesse of the breaking out; and the confusion they meant, fall upon their owne soules.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 950.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 895.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 965.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 968.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 954.

It doth very well (this suddennesse) set out to us, the course and carriage of the sinne. It will flatter one, and draw him on, a great while. All things will seeme so subtilly contrived, so cunningly carried, so secretly kept, and so long; commonly, till the very time, it should be done in: And then, even on a sudden, all breakes out; and that, strangely; and all the goodly cobweb, that was so many moneths in spinning and weaving, comes me a broome, and in a minute snaps it downe and destroyes it quite: the cobweb and the spider; the plot it selfe, and the author and all.²⁶⁵

Another link between Andrewes and the gunpowder epic tradition is the culmination of the whole in a hymn of praise and thanksgiving to God:

... and we all saved, that we might not dye but live, and declare the praise of the Lord: the Lord, of whose doing, that marvellous deed was; of whose making, this joyfull day is, that we celebrate.²⁶⁶

Exultemus et laetemur. God loveth our joy should be full; it is not full, except we have both these, the body (as it were) and the soule of joy: the joy outward of the body, and gladnesse inward of the soule.²⁶⁷

Magnificetur Dominus. The Lord hath magnified His power and goodnesse toward us, this day, for which His holy Name be magnified, this day, and for ever.²⁶⁸

Before we doe any thing, let us falle downe and worship the LORD that made us.²⁶⁹

And praised be GOD, this day, and all our dayes, that this day shewed, that He taketh pleasure in the prosperitie of His Servants, and from all lots and plots, doth ever deliver them.²⁷⁰

Finally, the fifth of November is to be set aside as a special day of thanksgiving and celebration:

Of keeping in remembrance, many wayes there be: Among the rest, this is one, of making dayes; set solemne Dayes to preserve memorable Acts, that they bee not eaten out, by them, but ever revived, with the returne of the Yeare, and kept still fresh in continuall memorie ... We have therefore well done and upon good warrant, to tread in the same steps, and by law to provide, that this Day should not dye, nor the memoriall thereof perish, from our selves or from our seed; but be consecrated to perpetuall memorie, by a yearely acknowledgement to be made of it throughout all generations.²⁷¹

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 954.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 890.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 897.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 910.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 991.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1008.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 890.

... and in publike manner to render our yearely solemne thanksgiving, that we also, by the Sonne of man, were delivered, from the powder laid ready to consume, and from the match light to give it fire.²⁷²

And if a set time, what day can we set so fit, as the day it selfe it felle on? With them, the fourteenth of Adar; with us, the fifth of November.²⁷³

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 920.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 1005.

SIGLA CODICUM

α	British Museum Sloane MSS 444
β	MS owned by Bertram Dobell
γ	Harleian MSS 3196
ω	Agreement of $\alpha\beta\gamma$

Editions

<i>Q</i>	Quarto edition: <i>Locustae vel Pietas Iusuitica</i> (Cambridge, 1627)
<i>Grosart</i>	<i>The Poems of Phineas Fletcher</i> , ed. A.B. Grosart (4 vols. [Fuller Worthies' Library [1869]])
<i>Boas</i>	<i>Giles and Phineas Fletcher: Poetical Works</i> , edited by F.S. Boas Vol I (Cambridge 1908)

A NOTE ON THE TEXT

There are three extant manuscripts of the *Locustae*. The earliest of these is the British Museum Sloane MSS 444, which can be dated c. 1611 as the dedicatory epistle to Montague, Bishop of Bath contains a reference to the work as 'this Cambridge poem recently begun amid the din of the city and indeed amid my sobbing for that father of mine breathing his last'.¹ The death of Fletcher's father alluded to here occurred in March 1611. The poem was completed in haste (*properatum tibi munus*) obviously in the hope of earning some token of appreciation from Montague. That this did not come about is indicated by the fact that Fletcher wrote a second version of the poem, the Dobell manuscript, virtually identical to the Sloane MS. In place of the dedicatory epistle to Montague, however, is a hexameter poem to Henry, prince of Wales. But fate was to deny Fletcher success in that the young prince Henry died on 6 November 1612. It is thus possible to date the Dobell MS

¹ *carmen hoc Cantabrigiae nuper inchoatum inter urbanos strepitus parentisque illius quidem exspirantius singultus ... confectum*. See Appendix I below.

some time between March 1611 and 6 November 1612. Finally, obviously still in search of royal patronage, Fletcher wrote, probably some time later, a third version, Harleian MSS 3196, with a new dedication to the tutor of prince Charles, Thomas Murray. Here Fletcher states that he was forced to appeal to Murray by a *dura et plane ferrea necessitas*. It is likely then that this version was completed before Fletcher was appointed to the living of Hilgay in 1621. Like Boas, I am inclined to favour a time lapse between the penning of the Dobell and Harleian MSS on account of the fact that in the Harleian dedication Fletcher states that he has dragged the poem once more into the light of day out of the dust in which it had long been buried.² Fletcher proceeds to confess that he has not really revised the poem and yet this ms differs substantially from the earlier two, and inserts thirty-seven new lines! Moreover the title *Locustae* is here introduced for the first time. The printed quarto edition of 1627 was to embody many further substantial changes, and wherever Fletcher penned these changes in intermediary versions — whether private or public —, they have not survived. By the time the Quarto edition appeared however, Thomas Murray was dead, and hence the dedicatory epistle is now replaced by one to Roger Townsend. On the whole however it is the Harleian MS which most closely approximates the eventual printed text.

Any editor of Fletcher's work owes an enormous debt to the invaluable research of F.S. Boas, whose edition was a great improvement on that of Grosart. For example, Grosart had collated only two of the three extant manuscripts whereas Boas not only corrected many of the errors in Grosart, but also collated the third extant manuscript (that of Mr Bertram Dobell). Even here however there are several inaccuracies and omissions, which the present edition hopes to have redressed. Moreover the textual layout of Boas's edition with the inclusion of MSS variants in endnotes rather than in an *apparatus criticus* is not particularly user-friendly, while the absence of line-numbers makes the whole process very tedious, as the reader must count down lines for each reference to a ms variant.

In order to produce a modern edition it seemed crucial to undertake a close primary study of all three manuscripts and to collate these in a form most accessible to the reader. This I have done in an *apparatus*

² *situ diuturno sepulta et hac tandem necessitate resuscitata in lucem (tanquam Musarum umbrae) desuetam prodeuntia*. See Appendix I below.

criticus at the foot of each page, noting therein, where appropriate, my corrections to Boas. Like Boas, I have followed the only printed edition of the poem during its author's lifetime, namely, the Quarto edition of 1627, which, as noted above, differs sometimes quite substantially from at least two of the extant MSS. In addition I have provided on facing pages the first English translation of the poem, followed by a commentary on points of literary, linguistic and historical interest. Included also in Appendix I is my edition and translation of all the didictory material included in the relevant MSS and the Quarto edition.

PHINEAS FLETCHER

LOCUSTAE
VEL
PIETAS IESUITICA

PHINEAS FLETCHER

LOCUSTAE VEL PIETAS IESUITICA

Panditur inferni limen; patet intima Ditis
 ianua. Concilium magnum Stygiosque quirites
 accitos rex ipse nigra in penetralia cogit.
 Olli conveniunt. Volitant umbrosa per auras
 numina, Tartareoque tumet domus alta senatu. 5
 Considunt numeroque omnes subsellia iusto
 (concilium horrendum) insternunt, causamque fluendi
 intenti exspectant. Solio tum Lucifer alto
 insurgens dictis umbras accendit amaris,
 manesque increpitans cunctantes, "Cernitis", inquit, 10
 "caelo infensa cohors, exosa, expulsaque caelo,
 cernitis ut superas mulcet pax aurea gentes?
 Bella silent; silet iniectis oppressa catenis
 inque Erebum frustra e terris redit exsul Erinnyes.
 Divino interea resonant sacraria verbo; 15
 indomitus possessa tenet suggesta minister
 et victus victorque novos vocat impiger hostes.
 Et nunc ille minis stimulans, nunc laeta reponens,
 scite animos flectit monitis et corda remulcet.
 Quin etiam sancti vulgata scientia Scripti 20
 invexit superos terris et luce corusca
 dissolvit tenebras noctemque excussit inertem.
 (Crescit in immensum Pietas, finesque recusat
 religionis amor; fugit Ignorantia lucis
 impatiens; fugit Impietas, artusque pudendos 25
 nuda Superstitio et nunquam non devius Error.)

Titulus Pietas Iesuitica *af*: Locustae *γ* 2 ianua] regia *ω* 6 Confidunt *Boas*
 7 sternunt *a* 9 Consurgens *af* 11 angulos inserunt *ωQ Boas* 20 sancti] sacri
ω 22 *post versum* Et nunc illa quidem gentes emensa supremas/imperium terris
 aequat caeloque profundo. *inser.* *ω*

PHINEAS FLETCHER

LOCUSTS OR JESUIT PIETY

The threshold of Hell is opened; the innermost door of Dis lies open. The king himself summons a great council of Stygian citizens, and assembles them into his black inner chambers. They come together. The shady deities fly through the breezes and the deep dwelling bulges with the senate of Tartarus. They all sit down, covering the benches in their complete numbers (a dreadful council) and intently they await the reason for their streaming together. Then Lucifer rising from his high throne, inflames the shades with bitter words and rebuking the spirits for delaying, he says: "Do you see, company hostile and loathsome to heaven and expelled from heaven, do you see how golden peace soothes the peoples above? Wars are silent; silent is Erinnys, oppressed by chains cast upon her, as in exile she returns in vain from the earth into Erebus? Meanwhile churches are resounding to the word of God; the minister without restraint occupies the pulpit and as both vanquished and victorious, he actively summons new enemies. And now goading with threats, now storing up joys, he skilfully converts minds with his advice and caresses hearts. Moreover knowledge of Holy Writ has been promulgated and has transported the gods above into the earth, and with flashing light has dispersed the darkness and shaken off idle night. (Piety is increasing on a vast scale while love of religion refuses boundaries. Ignorance is fleeing, unable to endure the light; Impiety is fleeing, and Superstition with her shameful limbs naked, and Error which never fails to go astray.) It permits violence and rejoices that the power bestowed

Vim patitur, gaudetque trahi caeleste rapique
 imperium. Quin et gentes emensa supremas,
 Virginiam, nostras, umbrae, tot saecula sedes,
 aggreditur; mox Cocytum, Stygiasque paludes 30
 tranabit; vix hunc nobis Acheronta relinquet.
 Nos contra immemori per tuta silentia somno
 sternimur interea et media iam luce supini
 stertentes, festam trahimus, pia turba, quietem.
 Quod si animos sine honore acti sine fine laboris 35
 poenitet et proni imperii regnique labantis
 nil miseret, positis flagris odiisque remissis,
 oramus veniam et dextras praebemus inermes,
 fors ille audacis facti et iustae immemor irae
 placatus facilisque manus et foedera iunget; 40
 fors solito lapsos, peccati oblitus, honori
 restituet caelumque nobis soliumque relinquet.
 At me nulla dies animi coeptique prioris
 dissimilem arguerit. Quin nunc rescindere caelum
 et coniurato victricem milite pacem 45
 rumpere, ferventique iuvat miscere tumultu.
 Quo tanti cecidere animi? Quo pristina virtus
 cessit, in aeternam qua mecum irrumpere lucem
 tentastis trepidumque armis perfringere caelum?
 Nunc vero indecores felicia ponitis arma 50
 et toties victo imbelles conceditis hosti.
 Per vos, per domitas caelesti fulmine vires
 indomitumque odium, proiecta resumite tela;
 dum fas, dum breve tempus adest, accendite pugnas,
 restaurate acies, fractumque reponite Martem. 55
 Ni facitis, mox soli et (quod magis urit) inulti
 aeternum, heu, vacuo flammis cruciabimur antro.
 Ille quidem nulla, heu, nulla violabilis arte
 securum sine fine tenet, sine milite regnum;
 a nullo petitur; nullo violatur ab hoste. 60

27-28 *om. ω*: Nunc etiam gentes multa olim nocte sepultas *inser. ω* 30 Cocytum]
 et manes *ω* 31 Acherunta *a* 32 Nos contra immemori] At nos lethaeo *β*
 35 laboris] labores *aβ* 36 poenitet et] vexant, si *aβ* 41-42 *om. a* 42 cae-
 lumque] caelum *γ* 48 invadere *ω* 57 heu *om. ω* 60 patitur *ωQ*: petitur *Boas*

upon us by heaven is being plundered and stolen. Indeed passing through even the peoples above, it assails Virginia, our abode, o shades, for so many ages; soon it will swim across Cocytus and the marshes of the Styx; it will scarcely leave this Acheron for us. Meanwhile we on the other hand are stretched out in the safety of silence in a sleep of forgetfulness, and snoring on the flat of our backs already in the middle of the day, we, a pious throng, prolong a relaxed holiday. But if you are ashamed at heart of the toil you have spent without glory, without limit, and if you have no pity for our empire which is rushing headlong and our kingdom which is collapsing, and if laying aside our outrageous crimes and ceasing our hatred, we beg for peace and offer our right hands unarmed, perhaps appeased and unmindful of our daring deed and just anger, he will readily join hands in a treaty; perhaps he, forgetful of our sin, will restore us, who have fallen, to the glory to which we were accustomed and will leave to us a heaven and a throne. But no day will prove that I am different from my resolve and former undertaking. Why, now it pleases me to tear down heaven and with a military conspiracy disrupt victorious peace and cause confusion with heated tumult. Whither has fallen your courage so great? Whither has departed that bravery of old with which in my company you attempted to burst into eternal light and with arms break through panic-stricken heaven? But now ingloriously you lay aside your successful arms and unwarlike you yield to an enemy conquered so many times. By you, by your strength quelled by a heavenly thunderbolt, by your untamed hatred, take up again the weapons which you have cast down; while it is right, while a brief period of time is at hand, inflame battle, renew the battle-lines and redress the intermission in war. If you don't, soon alone and (what burns me more) unavenged, we will be tortured by flames for ever (alas!) in an empty cave. Indeed he who, alas, can be conquered by no cunning, occupies without limit, without soldiers, a kingdom free of threat; by no enemy is he attacked; by no enemy is he injured. Nevertheless he is

Compatitur tamen inque suis violabile membris
 corpus habet. Nunc o totis consurgite telis,
 qua patet ad vulnus nudum sine tegmine corpus
 imprimate ultrices penitusque recondite flammās.

Accelerat funesta dies: iam limine tempus 65
 insistit cum nexa ipso cum vertice membra
 naturam induerint caelestem, ubi gloria votum
 atque animum splendor superent, ubi gaudia damno
 crescant, deliciaeue modum finemque recusent.

At nos supplicio aeterno Stygiisque catenis 70
 compressi, flammis et vivo sulphure tecti
 perpetuas duro solvemus carcere poenas.
 Hic anima extremos iam tum perpessa dolores
 maiores semper metuit queriturque remotam

quam toto admisit praesentem pectore mortem; 75
 oraque caeruleas perreptans flamma medullas
 torquet anhela siti, fibrasque atque ilia lambit.
 Mors vivit, moriturque inter mala mille superstes
 vita, vicesque ipsa cum morte et nomina mutat.

Cum vero nullum moriendi conscia finem 80
 mens reputat, cum mille annis mille addidit annos
 praeteritumque nihil venturo detrahit aevum
 (mox etiam stellas, etiam superaddit arenas,
 iamque etiam stellas, etiam numeravit arenas),

poena tamen damno crescit per flagra, per ignes, 85
 per quicquid miserum est. Praeceptis ruit anxia; lentam
 provocat infelix mortem si forte relabi
 possit et in nihilum rursus dispersa resolvi.
 Aequemus meritis poenas atque ultima passis

plura tamen magnis exactor debeat ausis, 90
 Tartareis mala speluncis vindictaque caelo
 deficiat numquam. Numquam crudelis inultos
 immeritosve Erebus capiet. Meruisse nefandum
 supplicium medios inter solabitur ignes

et licet immensos factis superasse dolores. 95

64 penitusque *Q*: totasque *β* 71 *om. a* 81 repetat *a* annis] annos *γ* annos]
 annis *γ* 92 post deficiat *interpunx. ωBoas* 95 quamquam *aβ*

equally prone to suffering, and possesses a body which in its limbs is liable to injury. Oh, now arise with all your weapons; press upon his body unarmed and without protection, where it is exposed to wounding, and bury the flames of vengeance deep within. The day of death is hastening: already upon the verge presses the time when his limbs joined to heaven's very pole, will have donned their celestial form, where glory surpasses wishes and splendour surpasses courage, where joys increase through injury and delights refuse measure or limit. But we, confined by everlasting punishment and Stygian chains and concealed by flames and living sulphur, will suffer eternal punishment in a cruel prison. Here the soul having already at that point suffered the extremities of pain, always fears worse, and it bewails the removal of death, the presence of which it accepted in its whole heart, while a flame creeping through the dark marrow tortures the lips which pant with thirst, and licks ribs and flanks. Death lives, while the life that remains dies amid one thousand evils, and exchanges place and name with death itself. Therefore although the mind in full awareness can conceive of no limit to dying, although it has added one thousand years to one thousand years and the age that has passed is subtracting nothing from what is to come (soon it has added on even the stars, even the grains of sand; already it has counted even the stars, even the grains of sand), still punishment increases with injury through scourges, through fires, through whatever is miserable. It rushes headlong in its anxiety. Slow is the death it wretchedly summons in its attempt to fall back, be dispersed and dissolved again into nothing. Let us match the punishment to the deserts and even though we have suffered the ultimate punishment, still through our great daring let the exactor owe us more. Let evil retribution from Heaven never be lacking in

Nunc agite, o proceres, omnesque effundite technas,
 consulite imperioque alacres succurrite lapso."

Dixerat. Insequitur fremitus trepidantiaque inter
 agmina submissae franguntur murmure voces
 qualis ubi oceano mox praecipitandus Ibero 100
 immineat Phoebus flavique ad litora Chami
 conveniunt glomerantque per auras agmina muscae:
 fit sonitus; longo crescentes ordine turbae
 buccinulis voces acuunt, sociosque vocantes
 undas nube premunt; strepitu vicinia rauco 105
 completur resonantque accensis litora bombis.

Postquam animi posuere sonique relanguit aestus,
 excipit Aequivocus quo non astutior alter
 Tartareos inter technas effingere patres.
 Illi castra olim numero farcibat inertii 110
 crescens in ventrem monachus, simul agmine iuncti
 tonsi ore et tonsi lunato vertice fratres.
 At nunc felici auspicio Iesuitica princeps
 agmina ducebat veteranoque omnia late
 depopulans magnas passim infert milite clades. 115
 Illum etiam pugnantem, illum admirata loquentem
 circuit et fremitu exceptit plebs vana secundo.
 Composuere animos omnes tacitique quierunt.
 Surgit et haud laeto Aequivocus sic incipit ore:

"O pater, o princeps umbrarum, Erebi que potestas, 120
 ut rebare, omnes nequicquam insumpsimus artes.
 Nil tanti valere doli; nihil omnibus actum
 magnorum impensis operum, verum omnia retro
 deterius ruere inque bonum sublapsa referri.
 Non secus adverso pictum tenet amne phaselum 125
 anchora si funem aut mordaces fibula nexus
 solverit, atque illum prona trahit alveus unda.
 Nec quemquam accusa; tentatum est quicquid aperta
 vi fieri aut pressa potuit quod tectius arte.

102 agmina *a* corr: agmine *a* 103 longoque accrescens ordine turba *ω* 106 com-
 plentur *ω* 111-112 Nomine dissimiles et versicoloribus armis *inser. ω* 115 pas-
 sim infert] vastabat *aβ* clades] turmas *aβ* 118 postquam *ante* composuere *inser. ay*
 122 voluere *β* 125 Non secus] Et velut *ω* 126 aut] et *ω* 127 solverit *a* corr:
 solveret *a*

the caves of Tartarus. Never will cruel Erebus receive the unavenged or undeserving. Amidst the flames it will be our consolation that we have deserved our wicked punishment and that through our deeds we have surmounted our resentment, albeit vast. Now come on, noblemen, spread out every snare, take counsel, and actively come to the aid of our fallen empire."

He had spoken. There ensues roaring and in the midst of the panic-stricken throng lowered murmuring tones are emitted, just as when Phoebus destined to set headlong, looms over the Spanish ocean, while flies muster their swarms through the breezes, and gather by the shores of the golden Cam. A sound is made. The throngs, increasing in long succession, intensify their tones with their little trumpets and summoning their allies they press upon the waves in a cloud. The neighbourhood is filled with the raucous din, and the shores resound to the inflamed buzzing.

After their spirits had settled and the agitation of their noise had become slack, Aequivocus took over, than whom none other among the Tartarean fathers was more crafty in fabricating snares. A swollen-bellied monk once crammed his camp with an idle throng, and at the same time there were joined to his troop brethren with shaven faces, whose curved heads were tonsured. But now under a propitious omen the prince was leading his Jesuit army and pillaging everything on a broad front with his veteran soldiers, he causes great disasters all about. The worthless common people surrounded him and marvelled at him even as he fought and spoke, and with roars of support listened to him. All set their hearts at rest and fell silent. Aequivocus arises and from his ill-boding lips begins as follows:

"O Father, O prince of shadows and power of Erebus, as you thought, in vain have we assumed all our wiles; guile so great has had no power; nothing has been accomplished by all the efforts of our mighty undertakings, but everything is rushing backwards to destruction and slipping away, is being turned into good. No different from an anchor which holds fast a painted yacht against the stream's current — if the clamp were to loosen the rope or the gripping fastenings, the current drags it downstream. And do not accuse anyone; whatever can be done through open force or more secretly through concealed craft has been attempted.

Ille pater rerum, cui frustra obnitimur omnes 130
 (sed frustra iuvat obniti), vim magnus inanem
 discutit et caelo fraudes ostendit aprico.
 Quin soliti lento reges torpescere luxu
 Palladiis nunc tecti armis, Musisque potentes,
 in nos per mediam meditantur proelia pacem. 135
 Nec tamen aeternos obliti (absiste timere)
 unquam animos, fessique ingentes ponimus iras.
 Nec fas, non sic deficimus nec talia tecum
 gessimus in caelos olim tua signa secuti.
 Est hic, est vitae et magni contemptor Olympi, 140
 quique oblatam animus lucis nunc respuat aulam
 et domiti tantum placeat cui regia caeli.
 Ne dubita: numquam fractis haec pectora, numquam
 deficient animis. Prius ille ingentia caeli
 atria desertosque aeternae lucis alumnos 145
 destituens Erebum admigret, noctemque profundam
 et Stygiis mutet radiantia lumina flammis.
 Quod si acies fractasque iterum supplere catervas
 est animus, sciteque malas dispergere fraudes,
 non ego consilii armorum non futilis auctor, 150
 nec veteres frustra, genitor, revocabimus artes,
 sed nova, sed nulli prorsus speranda priorum
 aggredienda mihi conamina. Non ego lentos
 nequicquam adstimulem fratres, alvumque sequentes
 distentam monachos. Dum nox, dum plurima terris 155
 incumbens caligo animos sopivit inertes,
 non ingratus erat fratrum labor; omnia nobis
 artibus ignavis dederat secunda, trahensque
 invisam caelo lucem, tenebrisve nitentem
 involvens, iam nube diem, iam nocte premebat. 160

134 Palladis instructi telis *a* tecti] cincti γ 142 placeat tantum β 147 Stygiis]
 nostris *a* 148 supplere catervas] submittere turmas *a\beta* 154 trahentes *a\beta*
 158 dederat] praestant ω trahuntque ω 159 tenebrisve] penitusve ω 160 *om.* ω :
 obscurant, multaue diem caligine miscent *inser.* ω : *post versum* ut quando exigua vari-
 atim luce, diemque/nec totum admisit, nec totum depulit umbra *inser.* ω

That Father of the universe against whom we all struggle in vain (but there is pleasure in struggling in vain) disperses in his might our worthless violence and exposes our fraud to the sun-lit sky. Why, kings accustomed to become sluggish in the apathy of luxury, now protected by the arms of Pallas and powerful over the Muses, are plotting war against us in the midst of peace. Still never do we lay aside our eternal courage in forgetfulness (refrain from fear), or our huge anger in exhaustion. It is not right. We did not fail in this way nor behave in such a manner when once we followed your standard against heaven. This is my resolve: to despise life and mighty Olympus, now to spurn the hall of light set before us and to take pleasure only in subduing the palace of heaven. Do not hesitate: never, never let your spirits be broken, never let these hearts fail. Before that happens, let him abandon the huge halls of heaven, having deserted the nurslings of eternal light, and fly to Erebus and the depths of night, and let him exchange the radiant light for the flames of the Styx. So if you have the resolve to replenish once more the battle lines and the broken throngs, and cunningly to spread evil fraud, it is not a futile plan of war that I am originating nor, father, will we vainly summon once more our craftiness of old; instead I must undertake a new attempt utterly unhopd for by any of our predecessors. I would not vainly incite the sluggish brethren or the monks who follow their swollen bellies. While night, while the thick of darkness inclining upon the earth put inactive minds to sleep, the work of the brethren was not unpleasing; through craft it had given us every security when we were weary, and drawing the hated light from the sky and enveloping the radiant day in darkness, it oppressed it now with a cloud, now with night.

At nebulas postquam Phoebus dimovit inanes,
 Tartareae immisso patuerunt lumine sordes,
 nec patitur lucem miles desuetus apertam.
 Nunc alio imbelles tempus supplere cohortes
 milite et emeritos castris emittere fratres; 165
 nunc Iesuitarum sanctum prodentia nomen
 arma manusque placent; iuvat ipsum invadere caelum,
 sideraque haerentemque polo detrudere solem.
 Iam mihi sacratos felici milite reges
 protrahere, atque ipsum caeli calcare tyrannum 170
 sub pedibus videor; nihil isto milite durum,
 nil sanctum clausumque manet; quin oppida late
 praesidiis urbesque tenent; iam limina regum,
 iamque adyta irrumpunt; vel mollibus intima blandi
 corda dolis subeunt vel ferro et caede refringunt. 175
 Hi vetulae fucum Romae pigmentaque rugis
 aptantes seros effoetae nuper amores
 conciliant, lapsumque decus formamque reponunt.
 Ni facerent (noctem caelique inamabile lumen
 testor) mox aliae sedes, nova regna per orbem 180
 exsulibus quaerenda, soloque atque aethere pulsus
 Cocytus tantum nobis Erebusque pateret.
 Quin tu, magne Pater, Stygias reclude cavernas,
 ac barathrum in terras Orcumque immitte profundum;
 insueti totum superi mirentur Avernum. 185
 Hic solita infidis inspiret proelia Turcis;
 Sarmatas hic, gelidosque incendat Marte Polonos
 Germanosque duces; hic reges inflet Iberos;
 regnorumque sitim et nullo saturabile pectus
 imperio stimulet diroque intorqueat aestu. 190
 Ite foras Stygiae (princeps iubet) ite catervae,
 vipereas inferte manus, serite arma per agros,
 et scelerum et foeti dispergite semina belli:

161 postquam nebulas ω 162 Tartareaeque ω immisso patuerunt] patent admissio α :
 patent immisso $\beta\gamma$ 163 lucem patitur ω 164 imbelles tempus] tempus fractas $a\beta$
 166 fallentia $a\beta$ 168 stellasque a 173 limina regum] principis aulas ω 178
 Conciliant Q 184 ac] et ω 185 dum superi totum insueti ω 186 aspiret ω
 193 foeti] duri $a\beta$

But after Phoebus had removed the insubstantial clouds, the filfth of Tartarus was exposed at the inrush of light, and the soldier, unaccustomed to the sight, is unable to endure the exposed light. Now is the time to fill out the unwarlike cohorts with other soldiers and expel the veteran brethren from the camp. Now pleasing are the bands of Jesuits and their arms which reveal a holy name; it would be a pleasure to invade heaven itself and to dislodge the stars and the sun firmly placed in the sky. Already I seem to drag forth hallowed kings with my successful army and to trample underfoot the very tyrant of heaven; with such an army nothing proves cruel for those soldiers; nothing that is holy or enclosed remains; why with their garrisons they occupy towns and cities far and wide; they burst now into the thresholds of kings, now into their shrines; charming in their gentle guile, they either enter the innermost hearts or else curb them with sword and slaughter. These apply to their cheeks the rouge and the dye of the whore of Rome, who has recently consummated late passion, and resume their fallen glory and beauty. If they did not (I call to witness night and the loathsome light of heaven) soon in exile they would have to seek through the world another abode and a new kingdom, and Cocytus and Erebus would be open only to us, who have been expelled from the earth and from heaven. Instead of this, mighty father, open up the caves of Styx and send the pit and the depths of Orcus upon the earth; let those of the upper world, unused to such a sight, marvel at the full view of Avernus. Let this one breathe their normal battles into the faithless Turks; let this one inflame in war the Sarmatians, icy Hungarians and the leaders of Germany; let this one puff up the kings of Spain; let him stimulate their thirst for kingship and a heart that can be satiated by no empire, and let him torture them with dreaded passion. Go, go out, Stygian throng (your Prince commands you); arm your snaky hands, sow arms along the fields and scatter everywhere the seeds of wickedness and productive war. But I alone will make for the

Ast ego Tarpeium Tiberina ad flumina patrem
 conciliumque petam solus, mea regna, Latinum 195
 murice vestitum rubeoque insigne galero.
 Mox scelere ingenti atque ingenti caede peracta
 regrediar Stygiasque domus et inania late
 undique collectis supplebo regna colonis.
 At tu, magne Pater, fluitantes contrahe manes, 200
 praecipitesque vias latosque extende meatus
 ut patulo densum volitantes Orcus hiatu
 corripiat rabidus mentes intusque recondat."
 Dixit, et illaeti perfracto limine Avernii
 exsiliit primus lucemque invasit apertam. 205
 Insequitur deforme chaos; ruit omne barathrum
 foeda, horrenda cohors; trepidant pallentia caeli
 lumina, et incerto tellus tremit horrida motu.
 Ipse pater pronos laxatis Phoebus habenis
 praecipitat currus et caelo territus exit. 210
 Succedit nox umbrarum, caelumque relictum
 invadit multaque premit caligine terras.
 Non secus Aeoliis emissi finibus Austri
 omnia corripiunt, terrasque undasque tumultu
 miscent; arboreos foetus segetemque resectam 215
 turbine convellunt rapido verruntque per auras.
 Ast oculis longe maestus sua vota colonus
 insequitur totoque trahit suspiria corde.
 Senserat adventum subitoque inferbuit aestu
 terra, odiisque tumet foeto iam turgida bello. 220
 Circum umbrae volitant, fraudesque et crimina spargunt.
 Hic gelidos semper nivibus glacieque Polonos
 exacuit taciteque subit Iesuitica totus
 pectora; iamque dolos caedesque inspirat. At illa
 arripiunt avidae flammas, notaeque per ossa 225
 discurrunt furiae inque sinus inque ilia serpunt.

195 Solus conciliumque petam *aß* 209 Phaebus Q 211 Succedunt trepidi Manes
ω 212 Desertasque premunt multa *ω* 213 emissi] emissae *ω* Austri] aurae *ω*
 218 *post versum* turbatove cient ingentes aequare fluctus, navita dum pavitans infidum
 Nerea diris/exagitat, moriensque infaustas devovet artes. *inser. γ: sic aß sed* 219-
 221 *om. aß* 220 multo *γ* 224 illi *ω*

Tarpeian father by the river Tiber and the Latin council, my kingdom, clad in purple and renowned in its red barretta. Soon I shall return having brought to completion huge wickedness and huge slaughter, and I will fill the abodes of Styx and its kingdom, which is empty all about, with inhabitants recruited from all sides. But you, mighty Father, confine the spirits who rush about and stretch forth a swift path and a broad curve so that in its open chasm Orcus can frantically lay hold of them as they fly in close numbers, and bury their minds inside."

He spoke, and breaking through the threshold of hapless Avernus he was the first to leap out, and he invaded the open light. There follows unsightly chaos; the whole pit rushes, a filthy, horrific troop; the pale lights of heaven flicker, and the earth trembles in horror at the quaking motion. Father Phoebus himself, slackening his reins, hastens his chariot headlong and departs from the sky in terror. A night of shadows ensues, invades the deserted sky, and oppresses the earth with great darkness. No differently do south winds when unleashed from the territory of Aeolus lay hold of everything, throwing lands and waves into tumultuous confusion; in a swift whirlwind they tear up the shoots of trees and harvested crops and sweep them along through the breezes. But the farmer in misery follows his beloved possessions with distant gaze, and draws sighs from his whole heart. The earth had sensed his arrival and seethed with sudden agitation, and already made swollen by recent war, it swells with loathing. The shades flit around, scattering deceit and crimes. This one stirs up the Hungarians forever cold with snow and ice, and in his entirety he silently enters the hearts of Jesuits, already breathing guile and slaughter into them. But eagerly those hearts take hold of the flames while the familiar furies coarse along their bones, entwining their way into their bosoms and sides. And now they plot wars against their kins-

Iamque in cognatos meditantur bella Suevos,
 Sarmaticasque ardent Romano adnectere gentes
 Pontifici et Graecas templis expellere leges.
 Fictitiam regis sobolem consuataque belli 230
 crimina supponunt vafri mentitaque veris
 texunt Sarmaticosque implent rumoribus agros.
 Caedibus accrescit bellum, regnique medullis
 haeret inexpletum. Semper nova proelia victus
 integrat. Erubuere nives iam sanguine tinctae 235
 purpureo, et tepida solvuntur frigora caede.
 Ast alii Graias olim cognomine terras,
 Graias Pieriis gratissima nomina Musis.
 Nunc domitos tutus consedit Turca per agros.
 Invisunt alacres bello loca foeta perenni, 240
 et tenero caedem inspirant et proelia regi:
 nunc oculo, nunc voce, ferox nunc fronte minatur.
 Non epulis luxuve puer, non ille paterna
 desidia gaudet, sed bella, sed aspera cordi
 ira sedent, saevamque superbia Turcica mentem 245
 inflat et ingentes volvit sub pectore motus.
 Aut is lanigeras aptabit classibus alas
 aut galeas finget, clipeosque et (fulmina belli)
 tormenta; impositis strident incudibus aera.
 Et nunc ille ferox Persas Asiamque rebellem 250
 subiiciens totum spirat de pectore Martem,
 exsultansque animis multa se suscitatur ira.
 Heu quae Christicolis caedes, quam debita pestis
 imminet! Heu quantus tanto timor instat ab hoste,
 ni tu, Christe, malum avertas; tu fulmina, Christe, 255
 dispergas, et vana manu conamina ludas!
 Interea toto dum bella seruntur in orbe,
 Italiam Aequivocus magnam et Tiberina fluentia
 adveniens, intrat feralis moenia Romae.
 Nec mora: nota subit mitrati tecta tyranni, 260
 quaque incedit ovans adytisque vagatur opacis,

228 adiungere *a* annectere *β* 240 perenni] furenti *ω* *angulos ante bello et post*
 furenti *inser. γ* 242 oculo] oculis *β* verbis *a* voce, ferox] ille oculis *a*
 243 epulis luxuve] luxu vinove *a* 245 ira] arma *aβ* 250 ferox] quidem *β*

men, the Swedes, and burn with eagerness to bind Sarmatian peoples to the pontiff of Rome and to expel Greek laws from their churches. Cunningly they substitute a feigned offspring of the king and fabricate offences in war, interweaving falsity with truth, and they fill the territory of the Sarmatians with rumours. War increases through slaughter, and unaccomplished, it sticks firmly poised in the marrow of the kingdom: he who is vanquished always starts new battles. Already the clouds began to blush, stained with dark red blood, and ice melts in the warm carnage. But others make for lands once Greek by name, Greek — a name most pleasing to the Pierian Muses. Now the Turk safely settles in territory brought under his sway. Eagerly they invade regions abounding in unceasing warfare, and breathe slaughter and battles into the young king. He fiercely threatens now with his eyes, now with his voice, now with his countenance; the boy does not take joy in feasting or luxury, not in the idle sport of his fathers, but wars and cruel anger dwell in his heart while Turkish arrogance puffs up his mad mind and turns over huge endeavours in the depths of his breast. He will either fit to his fleets sails made of linen or make helmets and shields and bombards (thunderbolts of war). The bronze hisses when the anvil is placed upon it. And now in his ferocity bringing Persians and rebellious Asia under his subjection, he breathes from his heart Mars in his entirety, and exultant in spirit he stirs himself up with great anger. Alas, how great the slaughter, how deserving the plague that looms over worshippers of Christ! Alas, how great the fear that presses upon them from so great an enemy, except that you, Christ, avert the evil; you, Christ, scatter thunderbolts and with your hand make sport of their vain attempts!

Meanwhile as wars are being sown in the whole world, Aequivocus arriving at great Italy and the flowing Tiber, enters the walls of deadly Rome. And without delay he goes into the familiar dwelling of the mitred tyrant and wherever he exultantly advances and wanders through the shady churches he rejoices as he contemplates on all sides crimes

insperata Erebo vel aperto crimina sole
 gaudet ubique tuens, messemque exspectat opimam.
 Dicite, Pierides, quis nunc tenet Itala primus
 arva? Quibus tandem gradibus, quo principe reges 265
 exuit, et pingues aptans sibi Roma cucullos,
 subiicitur raso modo facta sororcula fratri?
 Siccine decrepiti puerascunt tempore mores
 pontifice Augustum ut mutent monachoque monarcham?
 Postquam res Latii totum porrecta per orbem 270
 creverat et terras urbi subiecerat uni,
 substitit et iusto librata in pondere sedit.
 At mox prona ruens in se conversa relabi
 coepit et effoetam vix, iam vix sustinet urbem.
 Haud secus alternis crescentes fluctibus undae 275
 incedunt, facilesque actae superantia clivos
 aequora prorepunt tacite; mox litora complent,
 subiectasque procul despectant vertice terras;
 iamque viarum incerta haerent, mox prona recedunt,
 defervensque undis paulatim in se ipse residit 280
 Nereus, et nulli noto caput abdidit alveo.
 Interea patrum manibus caelestia passim
 semina sparguntur, surgit cum fœnore campis
 laeta seges plenisque albescunt messibus arva.
 At simul hirsutis horrebat carduus agris 285
 et tribuli loliique nemus, simul aspera lappae
 silva et letaeos operata papavera somnos.
 Quippe hominum caelique hostis, dum membra colonis
 fessa quies laxat, tritico vilemque phaselum
 miscuit infestus viciasque aspersit inanes. 290
 Mirantur lolium agricolae, mirantur avenas,
 mortiferasque horrent mediis in messibus herbas.
 Quin etiam imperio Christi Pro-christus eodem
 parvus adhuc claususque utero succrevit opaco:

262 Iusperata Q 266 exuit inque manus monachi concessit opimi? ω 269 ut
 om. ω 274 Coeperat, effoetamque senex αγ 277 porrepunt a 284 rubescunt
 ω 288-289 quippe hominum coelique hostis vilemque faselum/miscuit, et primo
 sementis tempore segnem/ inspersit segetem, viviasque effudit [γ infudit] inanes αγ
 292 infestasque ω horrent] stupent αγ

unhoped for by Erebus or the open sunlight, and he awaits a lucrative harvest. Say, Pierians, who now is the first to occupy the territory of Italy? By what steps and under what leadership did Rome eventually cast off royalty and fitting upon herself thick hoods, did she submit to the tonsured brethren, recently becoming their little sister? Do morals become decrepit and in time are reduced to infancy in such a way that they exchange emperor for pontiff and monarch for monk? After the state of Latium had expanded, stretching throughout the whole world, and had subjected lands to a single city, it halted and sat poised in a fair balance. But soon rushing headlong it turned upon itself and began to fall backwards, and scarcely, now scarcely can it support the exhausted city. No differently do waves advance increasing with alternating currents, and under this impulse with ease they creep forth silently over waters that surmount the slopes, soon they fill the shores and from a distance look down from their crest upon lands brought under their subjection. And now uncertain of their course they are brought to a standstill, soon they retreat headlong, and Nereus ceasing to rage with his waves, gradually subsides upon himself and buries his head in a bed unknown to anyone. Meanwhile heavenly seeds are scattered all about by the hands of the fathers; an abundant crop arises with profit in the plains, and the fields grow white with full harvests. But at the same time in untilled fields there bristled thistle and a clump of caltrop and darnel; at the same time a rough forest of burr, and poppies that work slumbers of oblivion. Indeed while repose relaxes the weary limbs of husbandmen, the hostile enemy of men and of heaven intermingled worthless beans with wheat, and scattered useless vetch. The farmers marvel at the darnel, they marvel at the oats, and shudder at deadly weeds in the midst of the harvests. Moreover through the same power Christ's surrogate still small, grew within the enclosure of a dark womb; and already thrusting

iamque vias trudens tentaverat; integra Romae 295
 auspicia impediunt ausisque ingentibus obstant.
 At Latiis postquam imperium segnesceret arvis
 inque Bisantinas sensim concederet urbes,
 exsilit et iusto prodit iam firmior aevo.
 Mox etiam laxis paulatim assuetus habenis, 300
 Mauricio scelere extincto duce et auspice Phoca
 excutit aurigam inque rotas succedit inanes.
 Et nunc rasorum longus producitur ordo
 pontificum, magicaque rudem Stygiaque popellum
 arte ligans, Italia solus dominatur in aula. 305
 Iamque furens animis et torquens fulmina, sceptrum
 Paulus habet, clavesque manu violentus inanes
 proiciens Petri, gladio succinctus acuto
 intonat et longe distantes territat urbes.
 Stulte, quid aeterni crepitantia fulmina patris, 310
 caelestesque minas et non imitabile numen
 ignibus, ah, fatuis simulas? Venetosque sagaces,
 et non ficticio terrendos igne Britannos
 exagitas? Ast hi contra, cum debita poscunt
 tempora (non illi voces verbosae chartae 315
 fulmina) tela alacres, verasque in moenia Romae
 incutient flammas, carnesque et viscera mandent.
 Arma foris regum Meretrix vetula, arma dolosque
 exercet, Circaea domi sed carmina et artes
 infandas magicis dirum miscendo susurris 320
 irritat flammis, durosque obtrudit amores.
 At cum feralis languet saturata libido,
 in facies centum, centum in miracula rerum
 corpora Letaeo transformat adultera cantu:
 aut asini fiunt vulpesve hirtive leones 325
 atque lupi atque sues atque exosae omnibus hydrae.

296 imperia obsistunt *aß* 297 postquam Latiis regnum *aß*: postquam Latiis imperium *γ* 300 laxis etiam *aγ* 301 *angulos ante* Mauricio *et post* extincto *inser. aγ*
 303-306 Iamque mitratorum longus succreverat ordo/pontificum, magicisque animos
 et numine viles/obstringens, Latia solus dominatur in aula,/et nunc sceptrum potens animis
 atque ense superbo *aß* 303 nunc etiam longus rasorum accreverat ordo *γ*
 305 Italia] Latia *γ* aula] arce *γ* 306 Et iam sceptrum furens animis et fulmina
 torquens *γ* 307 inertes *ω* 308 reiciens *ω* 309 fulminat *aß* 321 flammas *ω*
 325 vulpesve] ursaeve *aß* 326 lupae *γ*

forth, he had made trial of his way, but the sound omens of Rome hinder him and stand in the way of his huge ventures. But after power was growing sluggish in the territory of Latium and was gradually withdrawing into Byzantine cities, he leaps out, and now stronger in virtue of his appropriate years, he advances. Soon he also became accustomed gradually to slackening the reins and when Maurice, the emperor and guide, had been killed by a crime, Phocas shook off the charioteer and took his place upon useless wheels. And now there advances a long procession of tonsured pontiffs, and binding the uneducated populace with cunning both magic and Stygian, it assumes sole dominion over the court of Italy. And now Paul raging in his heart and hurling thunderbolts, holds authority and violently stretching forth in his hand the worthless keys of Peter and girded with a sharp sword, he thunders and terrifies far-distant cities. Foolish man, ah, why with your silly torches do you assimilate the crashing thunderbolts of the eternal Father and his heavenly threats and his inimitable divinity? Why do you stir up the shrewd Venetians and Britons who are not to be terrified by feigned fire? But these on the contrary, when due time demands (they will not use the mere tones or prolix thunderbolts of the written word) will keenly hurl weapons and real flames against the walls of Rome and will chew flesh and entrails. In the courts of kings the old Whore employs arms — arms and guile —, but in her home mixing the spells of Circe and her unspeakable skills with whispered enchantments, she stirs up cruelty with flames and forces cruel passions. But when her deadly lust had been satiated and languishes, with her chant of Lethe she transforms their adulterous bodies into one hundred shapes, into one hundred miraculous forms. They become either asses or foxes or shaggy lions and wolves and pigs and snakes hateful to all. Unsightly Ignorance, imprisoned indeed on the

Illi capta quidem dextro sed acuta sinistro
 lumine deformis caecae Ignorantia portae
 excubat et nebulis aditus et limen opacat.
 Filius huic Error comes assidet; ille vagantes 330
 excipit hospitio et longis circum undique ducit
 porticibus veterumque umbras simulacraque rerum
 mirantes, variis fallit per inania ludis.
 Intransem prensat mores venerata vetustos
 stulta superstitio, properanteque murmura voce 335
 praecipitans votis superos precibusque fatigat.
 Interius scelus imperitat fecundaque regnant
 flagitia et mentes trudent rapiuntque nefandas.
 Inficit hic caelos audax, Christumque venenans
 porrigit immixtis regi sacra tanta cicutis. 340
 Letalem ille deum atque imbutam morte salutem
 ore capit multoque lavat peccata veneno.
 Hic clavos virgasque crucemque, tua, optime Iesu,
 supplicia, hastamque innocuo sub corde refixam;
 hic truncum, hic saxum (saxo contemptior ipso) 345
 propitium implorat supplex Stygiisque ululantes
 speluncis flexo veneratur poplite manes.
 Hic Cereri et fluido procumbit stultus Iaccho,
 quosque colit vorat ipse deos, et numina plenus
 (ah scelus!) abscondit venis alvoque reponit. 350
 Hic caligantes caelum execratus apertum,
 te magicos, Iesu, te immittens sagus in ignes,
 umbras imperiis audax Stygiumque nefando
 ore Iovem totumque vocat de sedibus Orcum.
 Romulidum ille patrum primaeque haud immemor urbis 355
 et fovet ipse lupas atque ipse fovetur ab illis.
 Hic sobolem impurus prohibens castosque hymenaeos,
 ah, pathicos ardet pueros et mascula turpis
 scorta alit; (heu facinus terris caeloque pudendum
 ausus!); purpureo quin mox pater ille galero 360

327 acuta] lippa *aß* 333 inania ludis] opaca Maeandris *ω* 340 vina *a* 342 capit]
 bibit *aß* 352 om. *aß* 353 Imperiis umbras *a* 354 post versum Hic pater
 accepto castus fovet aere lupanar. *inser. ω* 355 Romulidum ille] Romulidumque *ω*

right, but on the left keen in her vision, guards over her portal and with clouds casts a shadow over the entrance and threshold. Her son Error sits as her companion; he receives hospitably those who wander, and leads them on all sides round the long colonnades, and as they marvel at the shades of men of old and at statues of objects, with various forms of trickery he deceives them amid the insubstantial regions. Religious folly in awe of the customs of old captivates anyone who enters, and hastening to utter murmurs with rapid tones, wearies the gods with prayers and entreaties.

Inside wickedness lords it over while fertile outrages rule, pressing and laying hold of wicked minds. This one in his audacity defiles the gods and poisoning Christ, he offers to the king so sacred offerings mixed with hemlock. He receives in his mouth the god of Lethe and salvation tainted with death, and washes his sins in much poison. This one suppliantly implores the nails, scourges and the cross — your punishments, o excellent Jesus, — and the spear buried beneath your innocent heart; this one the tree, this one the gracious rock (himself more contemptible than the rock itself) and worships on bended knee spirits that howl in the Stygian caves. This one in his stupidity falls down before Ceres and liquid Bacchus, and he consumes the gods whom he worships, and when full up he buries the deities in his veins (ah the wickedness of it!) and stores them in his belly. This one prophetically calls down curses upon the open heaven, casting you, Jesus, into the dark magical fires, and with daring authority, from his unspeakable lips he summons the shades, Stygian Jove and the whole of Orcus from its dwelling. Not forgetful of his ancestors, sons of Romulus, or of the prime city, he himself caresses prostitutes and is himself caressed by them. This one in his impurity, forbidding conception and chaste marriage, burns, alas, for lusty boys, and shamefully nurtures male prostitution; (alas to dare a crime shameful to earth and heaven); indeed soon the Father bestows the scarlet barretta upon veterans, and orders them to be lords and masters

emeritos donat, proceresque oviumque magistros
 esse iubet; mox dura pater Musisque tremenda
 laudat et incestis tutatur crimina Musis.
 Nec requies; fervent nova crimina, fervet honorum
 nummorumque infanda sitis; tumet improba fastu 365
 conculcans stratos immensa Superbia reges.

Venerat huc, laetusque animi vetera agmina lustrans
 Aequivocus falsi subiit penetralia Petri,
 quem super Anglorum rebus Venetoque tumultu
 ardentem curae et semper nova damna coquebant. 370
 Huic Stygias sub corde faces omnesque nefando
 pectore succendit furias; ille improbus ira
 concilium vocat. Agglomerant imberbia fratrum
 agmina; concurrunt veteranis ordine longo
 insignes ducibus Iesuitae animisque parati 375
 sive dolo libeat seu Marti fidere aperto.

Discumbunt: sedet in mediis diademate Paulus
 tempora praefulgens triplici vultuque dolorem
 praefatus sic tandem iras atque ora resolvit:

“Nil pudet incepto victos desistere, fessos 380
 deficere, extremoque fere languere sub actu,
 nec posse instantem Romae differre ruinam?
 Fata vetant? Mene incertis concedere fatis?
 Inclusus latebris monachus tot vertere praedas,
 tot potuit patri Romano avellere gentes? 385

Ast ego, quem strato venerantur corpore, sacris
 blanda etiam pedibus libantes oscula reges,
 quem superi, quem terra tremit manesque profundi,
 qui solio Christi assideo, Christo aemulus ipsi,
 tot mala cotidie et semper crescentia inultus 390
 damna fero. Et quisquam Romanum numen adoret
 aut vigiles supplex munus suspendat ad aras?

Iam Veneti iuga detrectant et iussa superbi
 destituunt. Batavus nulla revocabilis arte
 effugit longeque escas laqueosque recusat. 395
 Gallia tot compressa malis, tot cladibus acta

363 laudat et incestis| Heu male nutritus *aff*: Ah male nutritis γ 386 sacris| reges ω
 387 *om.* ω 388 superi| coelum ω 392 suspendet ω

of the sheep; soon the Father praises things that are cruel and feared by the Muses; through unchaste Muses he preserves crimes. And there is no respite; new crimes are ablaze; ablaze is the unspeakable thirst for glory and money; Arrogance swells wicked in scorn, trampling in her vastness upon kings laid low.

Aequivocus had come here happy in his heart as he surveyed the ancient ranks, and entered the inner chambers of the false Peter, who was burning with anxiety at the affairs of England and the uproar of the Venetians, and was forever harassed by new losses. He enkindles Stygian torches beneath his heart and every fury beneath his wicked breast. Wicked in his anger, he summons a council. The beardless troops of brethren swarm together; the Jesuits, renowned for their aged leaders, rush together in a long procession, prepared in their hearts, whether their pleasure be to trust in guile or in open war. They recline: in their midst sits Paul, his temples gleaming with a threefold diadem, and intimating his grief through his expression, at last he opens his lips to reveal his anger as follows:

“Are you not ashamed that you have been conquered and are abandoning your undertaking; that exhausted you are failing and languishing on the virtual verge of your final deed and are unable to disperse the destruction that is pressing upon Rome? Do the fates forbid? Have they consigned me to uncertain destiny? Has a monk enclosed in his hiding place been able to convert so many victims and tear so many peoples away from the Father of Rome? But I, whom kings revere with their bodies in prostration as they even plant charming kisses upon my hallowed feet; I at whom the gods above, at whom the earth and the spirits of the deep tremble, I who sit upon the throne of Christ, rivalling Christ himself, unavenged I endure daily so many evils and injuries that are forever increasing. And who may adore the divine power of Rome or suppliantly hang a gift before my wakeful altars? Already the Venetians shun my yoke and arrogantly desert my orders. The Dutch, who may

deficit et iam dimidia plus parte recessit.
 Ille Navarrenā infelix ex arbore ramus
 (exosum genus et divis hostile Latinis)
 quamquam oculos fingens placidos vultusque serenat, 400
 aggerat ingentem memori sub corde dolorem.
 Et velut ille fame et vinclis infractus ahenis,
 oblitusque leo irarum caudamque remulcens
 porrectas manibus captabit leniter escas,
 si semel insueto saturaverit ora cruore, 405
 mox soliti redeunt animi: fremit horridus ira;
 vincula mox et claustra vorat; rapit ore cruento
 custodem et primas domitor lacer imbuit iras.
 Quid referam tota divisos mente Britannos,
 quos neque blanditiae molles, non aspera terrent 410
 iurgia, non ipsos sternentia fulmina reges?
 Heu sobolem invisam et fatis maiora Latinis
 fata Britannorum! Centum variata figuris
 Proditio flammis ferroque atroque veneno
 nil agit; insensum detorquet vulnera numen. 415
 Nil Hispana iuvat pubes, nil maxima classis,
 quam tellus stupuit, stupuit Neptunus euntem
 miratus liquidum silvescere pinibus aequor.
 Quin toto disiecta mari fugit aequore prono,
 iamque relaxatos immittens navita funes 420
 increpitat ventos properans Eurosque morantes.
 Tot precibus properata aegre frustra redempta
 quid laeti tulit illa dies qua sidus Elisae
 occidit et longo solvit se Roma dolore?
 Occidit illa quidem, qua nullam Roma cruentam 425
 nostra magis vidit faustamve Britannia stellam.
 Sed simul exoritur, quem nos magis omnibus unum
 horremus, gelida consurgens Phoebus ab Arcto,
 quem Pallas, quem Musae omnes comitantur euntem.
 Pax simul incedit laeto Saturnia vultu; 430

398 ex arbore ramus] de stirpe propago *aß* 407 vincula mox et claustra] iamque
 specum iamque aera *aß* 411 ipsos] magnos *aß* 421 ventos properans Zephy-
 rosque *aß* Zephyros properans ventosque *γ* 422 Quid toties precibus, festisque accer-
 sita votis *ω* 428 gelido *ω*

never be called back by any skill, have escaped and shun from a distance snares and nooses. France oppressed by so many misfortunes and driven by so many disasters, fails me and has already retreated more than half way. That hapless bough from the tree of Navarre (a people hateful and hostile to the sainted Latins) hoards up huge resentment beneath his mindful heart, even though he feigns eyes that are placid and has a serene expression on his countenance. And just as the lion unbroken by hunger and bronze chains, forgetful of its anger and fawning with its tail will gently receive food offered to it by hand; but if once it has filled its lips with the unusual taste of blood, then soon its customary spirits return: it roars terrible in its anger, soon it swallows the chains and bolts; with bloodthirsty mouth it lays hold of the guard, and the tamer is mangled as he experiences its first anger. Why should I mention the Britons utterly divided in their attitude, who are terrified neither by tender blandishments nor harsh brawls, nor thunderbolts that lay low very kings? Alas the hated offspring and destiny of the Britons greater than the destiny of the Latins! Betrayal transformed into one hundred shapes achieves nothing through flames, sword and black poison: the divinity turns aside wounds without feeling them. No help is the Spanish stock; no help the greatest fleet at which the earth was astounded as it advanced, and astounded was Neptune as he marvelled at the clear sea turning into a pine wood. Why, as he sailed, he avoided debris cast upon the whole sea as now veering downstream and hastily slackening his cables, he rebukes the winds and the East winds for delaying. What happiness was brought by that day which was hastened in response to so many prayers and was redeemed in difficulty and in vain, that day on which the star of Elizabeth set, and Rome released itself from long grief? Indeed she died — one than whom our Rome has seen none more bloodthirsty, or Britain seen a more propitious star. But at the same time there arises one at whom alone we shudder more than all, a Phoebus rising from the icy Bear, whom Pallas and all the Muses accompany as he proceeds. At the same time Saturnian Peace advances with happy coun-

lora manu laxans trahitur captiva catenis
 Barbaries, positoque gemens Bellona flagello.
 Non me nequicquam iunctum uno foedere triplex
 imperium terret, terret fatale Iacobi,
 nec frustra impositum Luctantis ab omine nomen. 435
 Quin similis patri soboles inimica Latino
 nomina Pontifici assumens, radiante superbos
 Henricos puer et Fredericos exprimit ore.
 Nunc et equos domitare libet spumantiaque ora
 colligere in nodum sinuosaque flectere colla, 440
 et teneris hastam iam nunc iactare lacertis.
 Quin etiam ille minor sed non minus ille timendus
 Carolus haud laeto turbat nos omine, cuius
 mortiferam accepit primo sub nomine plagam
 Roma, et letali languens in vulnere lenta 445
 peste cadit certamque videt moribunda ruinam.
 Illa etiam inferior sexu, non pectore, terret,
 quae reducem nobis fecundam ostentat Elisam,
 (invisum, maius fatis ac cladibus auctum
 nomen), et invictam spondens post proelia pacem. 450
 Nec me vanus agit terror, quippe illius ore
 praevideo multas nobis, nisi fallor, Elisas.
 Quae mihi spes ultra? Vel me praesaga mali mens
 abstulit et veris maiora pavescere iussit
 vel calamo pater et Musis, sed filius armis 455
 sternet et extremis condet mea moenia flammis.
 Hei mihi! sidereae turres, tuque aemula caeli
 urbs, antiqua deum sedes reginaque terrae,
 quam lana Assyrio pingit fucata veneno,
 quam vestes auro stellasque imitante pyropo 460
 illusae decorant, ostro coccoque pudentes,
 cui tantum de te licuit? Quae dextera sacras
 dilacerare arces potuit? Quo numine turres
 deiicere ingentique vias complere ruina?"

442-452 *om. ω* 455 *vel] aut a* 456 *Armis, et duro sternet mea moenia ferro aβ*
 457-458 *Et super* (*ah vereor, nec sit mihi credere*) *victor/diseiectas super exultet crudelior*
arces inser. ω 464 *proiicere ω*

tenance; slackening her reins in her hand, Barbarity in captivity is dragged in chains and Bellona groaning, her scourge laid aside. It is not in vain that I am terrified — terrified by the threefold and deadly empire of James joined in one treaty, or the name of the one vainly called by the omen of Struggler. Indeed the offspring resembling his father and deriving his hostile name from a Latin pontiff, though a boy, he recalls the arrogant Henrys and Fredericks in his radiant expression. Even now he takes pleasure in taming horses and in tying together in a band their foaming mouths, in turning their curving necks and already at this point brandishing a spear in his young arms. Moreover Charles, younger but no less to be feared, vexes us with an unpropitious omen, under whose name Rome first received a death-dealing blow and languishing in a fatal wound, it falls through a sluggish plague and while dying, beholds certain destruction. Even she, inferior in sex but not in heart, who reveals and recalls the fertile Elizabeth, terrifies us — a name hateful and greater than fate and augmented by disasters — , promising after battle an invincible peace. It is not an ineffectual terror that drives me, inasmuch as in her countenance I foresee, unless I am mistaken, many Elizabeths for us. What further hope is there for me? I have been carried away by either my mind with foreknowledge of evil as it orders me to fear things greater than reality, or by the father with his pen and Muses, but the son with his arms will lay me low and will bury my walls amid uttermost flames. Woe is me! Starry towers, and you City that rival heaven, the ancient seat of the gods, and queen of the earth, you who are coloured by wool died in Assyrian poison, decorated by garments ridiculed for their gold and bronze imitating the stars, and shameful in purple and scarlet, to whom was there given such power over you? What right hand was able to tear to pieces your hallowed citadels; by what divine power was it able to cast down the towers and fill your streets with huge destruction?"

Conticuit: tristisque diu stupor omnibus ora 465
 defixit mixtoque sinus premit ira dolore.
 Ut rediere animi, strepitus, iunctaeque querelis
 increbuere minae, dolor iras, ira dolorem
 aggerat alternisque incendunt pectora flammis.
 Tota minis mixtoque fremunt subsellia luctu. 470
 At sonitus inter medios, et maximus aevo
 et sceptris Iesuita potens, cui cetera parent
 agmina, consurgens ultro sese obtulit. Illo
 conspecto siluere omnes atque ora tenebant
 affixi. Verba Aequivocus versuta loquenti 475
 suggerit et cordi custos orique residit:
 “O pater, o hominum princeps, o maxime divum
 conditor, haud minor ipse deo, iam parva caduco
 spes superest regno, neque te sententia fallit:
 moenia praecipitem spondent sublapsa ruinam. 480
 Nullum igitur lacrimis tempus; quin ocus omnes
 sarcimus veteres aliasque reponimus arces.
 Quid prohibet quin arte diu tua Roma supersit
 qua vel nunc superest? Fatum sibi quisque supremum est
 et sortis faber ipse suae. Nunc, optime, nostram 485
 qua fieri possit paucis, pater, accipe mentem.
 Ut qui armis hostile parat rescindere vallum
 non ubi confertis armantur moenia turmis
 aut altis cinguntur aquis, sed qua aggere raro
 atque humiles tenui muros cinxere corona 490
 irruit incautamque malis premit artibus urbem:
 non secus infirmi nutantia pectora sexus
 blanditiis tentanda doloque adeunda procaci
 (in tenui labor at lucrum non tenue sequetur):
 vincitur et vincit citius. Cito femina discit 495
 errores sciteque docet; gremio illa virili
 infusa et niveis cunctantem amplexa lacertis
 blanda sinus leviter molles et pectora vellit.

466 defigit γ 467 strepitus] murmur a 469 incendit γ 471 strepitus
 ω 476 residit] sedebat ω 477 maxime divum] magne deorum ω 479 angulos
ante neque et post fallit inser a 486 id post fieri et ante possit inser. β 487-
531 om. $a\beta$ 488 moenia] proelia γ 492 nutantia] dubitantia γ 494 at] est, et γ
495 melius γ

He fell silent: for a long time sad astonishment was planted firmly upon the faces of all, and anger combined with resentment weighed down upon their bosoms. When their spirits had returned, a noise and threats mixed with complaints increased; resentment intensifies anger; anger intensifies resentment and they kindle their hearts with alternate flames. All the benches resound to threats mixed with grief. But in the midst of the noise a Jesuit, both the greatest in age and powerful in authority, whom the rest of the troops obey, rising up, presented himself of his own accord. On catching sight of him, all were silent and held their expressions fixed. As he speaks, Aequivocus supplies him with crafty words and resides as guardian over his heart and his lips.

“O Father, o prince of men, o greatest founder of the gods, no lesser than God himself, already slight is the hope that remains for our falling kingdom and you are not misled in your opinion: the tottering walls promise a headlong destruction. Therefore there is no time for tears; instead quickly we are repairing the old citadels and are replacing others. What prevents your Rome from surviving for a long time through craft, craft through which it even now survives? Each man constitutes his final fate and is himself the engineer of his own lot. Now, excellent Father, listen to my opinion in a few words as to how it can be done. Just as one who is preparing to tear down the enemy rampart rushes in not where the walls are armed with closely-packed squadrons, or surrounded by deep water, but where they have encircled the low walls with a slight rampart and a thin circumvallation, and then with evil stratagems oppresses a city unawares, no differently must their wavering hearts be assailed with the allurements of the weaker sex and approached by wanton guile. (Slight is the issue in which we expend our toil, but not slight the profit that will follow). Woman is conquered and conquers more quickly: quickly does she learn errors and cleverly teaches them: sprawled over the lap of her husband and with her snow-white arms embracing him as he delays, in her charm she gently plucks at his soft bosom and chest, soon she tames and lords it over his mind. He drinks the poison and in

Mox domitae imperitat menti. Bibit ille venenum
 et rapit errores animo penitusque recondit. 500
 Qui toties saeptus, toties invictus ab hoste
 constitit, armatum qui dente atque ungue leonem
 Manoides dextra impavidus lacerabat inermi,
 pellicis in gremio crinem roburque relinquens
 feminea infelix nullis superandus ab armis 505
 arte, sine ense iacet, sine vi, sine vulnere victus.
 His, pater, haud levibus visum est praeludere telis,
 et quoniam illecebris flecti frangive recusat
 vi Batavus, technis subeundus et arte domandus.
 Apta nec ansa deest: manet illic forte, scholisque 510
 imperitat vafri ingenii fideique labantis
 Arminius, quem magna stupet sequiturque caterva,
 amphibium genus et studiis hostile quietis.
 Hi suetis stimulandi odiis scitisque fovendi
 laudibus ac donis onerandi rebus Iberis 515
 ut faveant, sceptrum Hispano obsequiumque reponant.
 Proximus in Gallos labor est, quos agmine pleno
 aversos iterum ad Romam matremque reducam.
 Parisios vobis facile succidere flores
 (liliaque Hispano dabimus calcanda leoni) 520
 et trunca ad solitum decusso vertice morem
 stemmata radicemque arvis transferre granatis.
 Illa Navarrena infelix ex arbore planta
 ense recidenda est flammisque urenda supremis.
 Dumque tener flectique potest nescitque reniti 525
 surculus in truncum mox immittatur Iberum.
 Oblitus primi Hispanum propagine succum
 imbibat; Hispanis excrescant germina ramis.
 Quin modo qui secta viduus manet arbore ramus
 Hispano discat, si fas, inolescere libro, 530
 et duplex pietas duplicato crescat amore.
 Hic tragicæ prologus scenæ — maiora paramus:
 non facinus vulgare sero quod nulla tacebit,

502 atque] ac γ 505 aequandus γ *angulos ante nullis et post armis inser.* γ
 508-516 *om.* γ 519 facile vobis γ 521 trunco γ 533 non] *Nec aß sero] paro aß*

his heart he seizes upon the errors and buries them deep within. The son of Manon who stood firm, shut in so many times, yet unconquered so many times by the enemy, who fearlessly with unarmed right hand tore to pieces a lion armed with tooth and claw, left his strength that was his hair in the lap of a harlot, and through the artifice of a woman he who could not be overcome by any arms, lies miserably conquered without sword, without force, without wound. Father, it is with these not insignificant weapons that it seems we should rehearse. And since the Dutch refuse to be influenced by enticements or broken by force, he must be approached by stratagems and quelled through cunning. And a fitting opportunity is not lacking: by chance an Armenian, a man of crafty intellect and fallen faith resides there and lords it over the schools; the great throng is in awe of him and follows him — a two-faced brood and hostile to the pursuit of peace. These must be stirred up by their familiar hatred and nurtured by clever praise and weighed down with gifts so that they will show favour to the Iberian cause and restore to Spain power and obedience. The next task is against the French who have turned away in a full body: I will lead them back once more to Rome and to their mother. It will be easy for you to cut down the flowers of Paris, (we will give lilies to the Spanish lion for him to trample upon) and to carry over into seed-bearing territory trunks, with their summit cut off according to the usual custom, and stems and root. That wretched plant of Navarre must be cut down from the tree by a sword and burnt in final flames. While a little shoot is young and malleable and does not know how to resist, it can soon be implanted into the Iberian trunk. Forgetting its original sap, may it drink the sap of Spain through its shoot; may buds grow upon Spanish boughs. Moreover may the bough which remains widowed of its hewn tree learn, if it is right, to grow upon a Spanish bark and may its twofold piety increase with redoubled love.

This is the prologue to the tragic scene: we are preparing greater things. It is no ordinary crime that I sow, but one about which no day

credet nulla dies; magnum populusque tremendum
 omnibus incepto; nequicquam verba minasque 535
 conterimus, nequicquam artes proiecimus omnes.
 Tempora nos urgent mortis suprema; supremum
 tentandum scelus est; tollatur quicquid iniqui
 obstiterit; nec te larvati nomen honesti
 terreat aut sceleris; quin tu moderator honesti 540
 regula tu iusti, per fas, pater optime, nobis
 perque nefas tentanda via est qua frangere duos
 possimus Latiumque ipsis inferre Britannis.
 Illi hostes, illi telisque dolisque petendi;
 vindictam reliqui tantam videantque tremantque. 545
 Nec mihi mens solum gelidis auferre cicutis
 aut armis regem cultrove invadere: magnum,
 sed prius auditum, est facinus. Certissimus ultor
 et sceptris odiisque puer succedet avitis;
 sed regem pariter pariterque inflexile semen, 550
 sed procures, patresque equitesque et quicquid ubique
 prudentis vulgi est ictu truncabimus uno.
 Quin domitos sine telo omnes, sine vulnere victos
 flagitio, pater, una uno dabit hora Britannos.
 Qua facere id possim, paucis (adverte) docebo: 555
 Stat bene nota domus saxo constructa vetusto,
 marmore caelato et Pariis formosa columnis,
 qua celebris Thamo generatus et Iside nympa
 Thamisis inflexo Ludduni moenia fluctu
 alluit ingentemque excurrere moenibus urbem 560
 crescentesque videt semper splendescere turres;
 quaque Austros patulis immittit aperta fenestris,
 fronte superba alte submissas despicit undas.
 Huc fluere et primis omnes concurrere regnis
 et procures terrae et patres plebesque Britannae. 565
 Ipse etiam primum tota cum prole senatum
 regina simul ingreditur comitante Iacobus.

544-545 *om. aß* 545 *om. γ* 547 *ferrove a* 547-48 *angulos ante magnum et*
post facinus inser. a 559 *irriguo aß Londini γ* 560 *excedere aß* 563 *alto ω*
sublapsas aß 565 *plebemque] ω Boas plebesque conieci* 566-567 *om. aß; post*
565 aß inserunt 663-683; *post 683 aß inser.* 568-620.

will be silent, one which no day will believe; I am undertaking a crime great and to be feared by all peoples; in vain are we wasting our words and our threats; in vain have we put forward all our craft. The final time of death presses upon us, the final wickedness must be attempted; let there be removed whatever injustice stands in our way, and do not let the name of enchanted honour or wickedness frighten you; indeed, controller of what is honourable, o rod of justice, excellent Father, a way must be tried through right and through wrong, whereby we may be able to break those hard men, and import Latium into the Britons themselves. Those, those are the enemies to be attacked by the weapon of guile; let the rest behold and tremble at so great a punishment. And it is not my intention to kill the king with cold poison when he is alone or to attack him with arms or with a knife: that is a great crime, but one heard of before. The boy will succeed to both his ancestral empire and his hatred as a most resolute avenger. But in a single blow we will kill the king, and at the same time his inflexible stock, the Lords, fathers, noblemen and whatever wise people exist everywhere. Indeed, Father, one hour will consign them to one destruction, subdued without weapon, conquered without wound. Pay attention: I will teach you in a few words how I can do it:

There stands a well known house built from ancient rock, beautiful in its marble engravings and Parian columns, where the famous Thames, begotten of Thamus and the nymph Isis, washes the walls of London with meandering wave and beholds the huge city projecting with its walls, and the rising towers forever gleaming, — a house where when opened it lets in the South winds through its opened windows and with proud expression looks down from on high upon the waves beneath. To this place everyone flocks and comes together from the foremost kingdoms: Lords of the land, fathers and the people of Britain. James himself along with his entire offspring and accompanied by the queen enters at the same time the opening meeting of the senate. Here they recover

Hic lapsos revocant mores, Romaeque cruentas
 imponunt leges et poenas sanguine poscunt.
 At latebrae subter caecae magnisque cavernae 570
 excurrunt spatiis, multo loca foeta Lyaeo.
 His tacite nitrum et viventia sulphura tectis
 subiiciam Stygioque implebo pulvere sedes.
 Ut numero primum crescunt subsellia iusto
 et semel intumuit pleno domus alta senatu, 575
 tecta ruam. Iuvat horrendos procul aure fragores
 excipere et mixtas latoribus aere leges
 correptas spectare; iuvat semusta virorum
 membra omnesque supra volitantes aethere reges
 cernere. Rupta gemet tellus et territa caeli 580
 dissilient spatia. Ast alto se gurgite praeceps
 Themisis abscondet, mirabitur aethera Pluto,
 et trepidi fugient immisso lumine manes.”
 Dixerat. Applaudunt omnes; magis omnibus ipse
 consilium laudat sanctus pater; ipse labantis 585
 patronum Romae laeto sic ore salutat:
 “Dii patribus fausti semper cultique Latinis,
 non omnino tamen moriturae moenia Romae
 deseritis, tales cum animos et tanta tulistis
 pectora. Iam versis Latium florescere fatis 590
 aspicio effoetamque iterum iuvenescere Romam.
 Ast ego quas tandem laudes pro talibus ausis,
 quae paria inveniam? Quin tu mox aureus aede
 stabis victrici succinctus tempora lauro.
 Ipse ego marmoreas meritis pro talibus aras 595
 adiiciam; ipse tibi vota et pia tura frequenter
 imponam et summos iam nunc meditabor honores:
 ‘Salve praesidium fidei columenque Latinae;
 incipe iam caelo assuesci, stellasque petentes
 ingreditor, manibusque coli iam disce supinis.’” 600
 Interea Aequivocus manes atque infima Ditis
 regna petens, magnis Erebum rumoribus implet:

571 *angulos ante multo et post Lyaeo inser. γ* 574 *ut primum numero ω* 582 *Plu-*
ton ω 596 *frequenter] quotannis ω* 600 *ingredere o ω*

fallen morals and impose bloody laws upon Rome, and demand punishment in blood. But underneath there are concealed hiding places and cellars running along a vast space — a region abounding in much wine. Beneath this building I will place nitre and live sulphur, and I will fill the abode with Stygian powder. As soon as the benches fill up with the appropriate numbers and the high house has swollen with the full senate, I will destroy the building. It would be a delight to listen from afar to the horrific crash and to watch laws combined with their promulgators snatched away into the air; it would be a delight to see the charred limbs of men and all the nobles flying high in the air. The earth will be torn apart and will groan, and the vault of heaven will jump apart in terror; but the Thames will bury himself headlong in his deep eddy, Pluto will marvel at the heavens, while the spirits of the lower world will flee in panic at the inrush of light.”

He had spoken. They all applaud; the holy Father himself praises the plot more than all; he himself with happy countenance greets the patron of tottering Rome as follows:

“Gods forever propitious to and worshipped by the Latin fathers, you do not entirely desert the walls of Rome on the point of death, since you have produced such bravery and such hearts; already I see destiny being reversed and Latium flourishing and exhausted Rome growing young once again. But what praises, what matching words am I to find in return for such undertakings? Indeed soon all golden you will stand in a church, your temples girded with the laurel of victory. I myself will add altars of marble in return for such services; I myself will frequently offer prayers and pious incense before you and even now will I practise the supreme honours. ‘Hail, garrison and pillar of the Latin faith; already begin to become accustomed to heaven; enter upon the open stars and already learn to be worshipped with upturned hands.’”

Meanwhile Aequivocus, making for the spirits and the lowest kingdom of Dis, fills Erebus with great rumours: that a crime has been

inventum facinus cuius caelumque solumque
atque umbras pudeat steriles; quod cuncta, quod ipsas
vicerit Eumenidas, totoque a crimine solvat. 605

At Iesuita memor sceleris coeptique nefandi,
lucifugae devota Iovi patrique Latino
pectora de tota excerpit lectissima gente
(digna quidem proles Itala de matre Britanna).
Hic dirum a facibus certo trahit omine nomen; 610
ille hiemes referens magnos portenderat imbres
raptaque perpetua minitatur lumina nocte;
hic trahit a fossis; raucis hic nomina corvis.
His Iesuita nefas aperit, totumque recludens
consilium horrendisque ligans Acherontica diris 615
vota, truces ipso caedes obsignat Iesu.

Iamque illi ruptae media inter viscera matris
accelerant; duros, agrestia tela, ligones
convectant; Orco vicini, dirius Orco
infodiunt alte scelus interiusque recondunt. 620
Dumque operi incumbunt alacres crescuntque ruinae,
nescio quos multa visi sub nocte susurros
percipere et tenui incertas cum murmure voces.
Vicinos illi manes Erebumque timentes
diffugiunt trepidi refluunt cum sanguine mentes. 625
Iamque umbris similes ipsi vitantur ut umbrae
et vitant, ipsique timent ipsique timentur.
Hic medio lapsus cursu immotusque recumbens
pressa anima clausisque oculis, iam flagra sequentis
Tisiphones uncasque manus et verbera sperat. 630
Ille cavas quaerit latebras cupaque receptus
nitrosa trepidos intra se contrahit artus.
Sic cum membra silent placida resoluta quiete,
terrenus nigra inficiens praecordia fumus

605 omnique ω 606-608 Hii Stygio devota Iovi Patrique Latino/pectora de tota excerpunt lectissima gente ω 609 *post versum* Ferrea tu proles? an tu magis improba mater?/improba tu mater, sed tu quoque ferrea proles *inser.* ω 613-616 *om.* ω 618-619 Accelerant, Orco vicini, dirius Orco *aß* duros ... convectant *om.* *aß* 618 *angulos ante agrestia et post tela inser* γ 620 *post versum inseruntur* 653-660 *aß* 621-652 *om.* *aß* 631-632 Ille cado tectus nitroso contrahit artus,/cuncta timens, trepide obliquis speculatus ocellis γ

found, at which heaven and earth and the empty shades would be ashamed, which would conquer all things, the Eumenides themselves, and absolve them from utter wrongdoing.

But the Jesuit, mindful of his wickedness and his unspeakable undertaking, picks out from the whole race the most excellent hearts devoted to Jove, the light-shunner, and to the Latin father (a worthy offspring indeed — British but of an Italian mother). This one, by a sure omen, derives his dreadful name from torches; that one recalling winter, had portended great showers, and threatens to snatch away light amid night's eternal darkness; this one derives his name from ditches, this one from hoarse rooks: The Jesuit unfolds his crime to these and revealing the whole plot, and binding the desires of Acheron with dreaded horrors, he pledges him for fierce slaughter in the name of Jesus himself.

And now bursting into mother earth, they hasten into the midst of her entrails; they convey hard mattocks (rustic implements) and close to Orcus, they deeply dig and bury far within a crime more dreadful and deeper than Orcus. While they actively press upon their task, and the destruction increases, they seemed to hear some whisperings or other in the depths of night, and uncertain voices with slight murmurings. Fearing that Erebus and its shades were closeby, they flee in panic, their minds overflowing with blood: and already resembling shades they themselves like shades are avoided and they avoid; they themselves fear and themselves are feared. This one falling in the midst of running and reclining motionless with breath checked and with eyes closed, now awaits the scourge, hooked hands and whip of Tisiphone in pursuit. That one seeks hollow hiding places and concealing himself in a barrel of gunpowder, he draws his frightened limbs tightly together. Thus when his limbs, relaxed in calm repose, are at peace, smoke from the earth corrupting his black heart invades his mind and now he imagines a lifeless shade, a shade armed with a Stygian firebrand and seeping with gore. Suddenly everything is thrown into confusion; he flies through the

invadit mentem, iamque umbram effingit inanem, 635
 taeda umbram Stygia armatam sanieque madentem.
 Omnia turbantur subito: volat ille per auras
 exanimis demensque metu, frustra refixos
 increpat usque pedes; praesens insultat imago,
 iam tergum calcemque terens. Vox ore sepulta 640
 deficit et dominum fallaci prodit hiatu.
 Ut reduci mox corde metus sedantur inertes,
 paulatim apparent rari latebrasque relinquunt,
 incertique metus tanti, sed pergere certi
 cautius arrecta captabant aure susurros. 645
 Ut tandem humanam agnoscunt ex murmure vocem,
 laeti abeunt, ortoque die vicina lyaeo
 sacrata ediscunt latis excurrere cellis.
 Conducunt nitrumque avide, sulphurque recondunt,
 et ligno scelus et coniecto vimine celant. 650
 Iamque nefas felix stabat promptumque, seniles
 temporis increpitant gressus lucemque morantem.
 Sed quid ego nullo effandum, nulloque tacendum
 tempore flagitium repeto? Quid nomina diris
 vota et perpetuis repeto celebranda tenebris? 655
 At frustra celabo tamen quod terra stupescit,
 quod superi exhorrent, quod Tartarus ipse recusat
 eiuratque nefas. Incisum marmore crimen
 vivet in aeternum; pariter Iesuitica longum
 simplicitas vivet rerumque piissima Roma. 660
 Iamque optata dies aderat qua more vetusto
 conveniunt magno proceresque patresque senatu.
 Ipse sacris princeps devinctus tempora gemmis,
 aut phalerato insignis equo curruve superbus
 ingreditur, laterique haeret pulcherrima coniunx, 665
 et sobole et forma fortunatissima. Princeps
 proximus incedit facie vultuque sereno.
 Ille animum ostentans patrium matrisque decores,

647 vicinia Baccho γ 653-660 *inseruntur inter* 684-685 γ 654 repeto] memoro
 αγ 655 repeto] memoro βγ celebranda] suppressa αβ 656 At] Sed αβ stu-
 pescet α 657 superi] Coelum ω exhorret αγ 661-662 *om.* αβ 661 optata]
 propinqua γ 664 superbo α 667 ingreditur αγ insequitur β

breezes breathless and frantic in fear, and in vain does he constantly curse his unfastened feet; the ghost is at hand, and already leaps forth behind him, treading upon the stone; his voice is buried in his mouth and fails even its master and proceeds from false gaping jaws. Soon when their hearts have been recovered and their groundless fears quelled, gradually they appear one by one and leave their hiding places. Doubtful in view of their great fear, but resolved to proceed, with careful and attentive ear they heard whispers. When at last they recognised from the murmuring that the voice was human, they go away happily and at dawn they learn that nearby is a region reserved for wine, which runs beneath the broad cellars. They hire it and eagerly store the nitre and sulphur there, and they conceal their crime with wood and twigs thrown on top. And now the evil stood readily at hand, and they rebuke Time's elderly footsteps and the dawn for delaying.

But why do I recall a disgrace not to be spoken of, but not to be kept silent at any time? Why go over names and desires to be celebrated by the Furies and by eternal darkness? But nevertheless in vain will I conceal something at which the earth is astounded, which the gods above abhor, which Tartarus itself shuns and testifies as evil. Let the crime be chiselled in marble and live for eternity and let the naiveté of the Jesuits also live for a long time, and Rome most pious of all!

And already the longed-for day was at hand on which according to ancient custom there gather together in a great senate the lords and fathers. The king himself, his temples crowned with sacred jewels, proudly advances, distinguished either for his horse which wears metal bosses or for his chariot. Close to his side is his most beautiful wife, very fortunate both in her offspring and in her beauty. Next prince Henry advances with serenity of face and countenance, revealing the spirit of

mixtaque concordi felicia proelia paci
 Henricus, placidoque refulgens Carolus ore. 670
 Virgineasque simul, magnatum incendia, turmas,
 insignes forma nymphas, formosior ipsa
 flagrant perfusa genas inducit Elisa,
 et nivibus roseum commiscuit ore pudorem.
 Haud secus innumeris caelo stipata sereno 675
 ignibus incedit, radiosque argentea puros
 diiaculans cunctis praefulget Cynthia stellis.
 Mox procerum accrescunt multo splendentia luxu
 agmina gemmisque insignes et murice fulgent,
 conciliumque petunt conferti; effusus euntes 680
 prosequitur plaususque virum clangorque tubarum,
 et faustis mixtus precibus ferit ardua clamor
 sidera; tota fremit festis urbs quassa triumphis.
 Nox erat, et facii Titan scelerisque propinqui
 avolat impatiens stimulisque minisque iugales 685
 exagitans, latet adverso iam tutus in orbe;
 quaque volat patulae lustrans tot crimina terrae
 nullum aequale videt, Thracesque Getasque cruentos,
 quique Platom, Gangem, rapidum qui potat Oraxem,
 qui Phlegetonta, omnes omni iam crimine solvit. 690
 Diffugiunt stellae, nequicquam impervia tentans
 aequora collectis nebulis exstinguitur Ursa.
 Manibus et sceleri nox apta, at nigrior ipsa
 nocte facem plumbo saeptam taedamque latentem
 veste tegens cellam Facius crimenque revisit. 695
 Dumque opus effingit tragicum facinusque retexit,
 multa timet speratque: hinc poena, hinc praemia pectus
 sollicitant, dubio desciscunt viscera motu.
 Iamque vacillantem Aequivocus cenamque precesque
 caecumque obsequium menti papamque reponens 700
 fulcit et iniectis obfirmat pectora Diris.

670 placidoque] laetoque *aß* refulgens] effulgens *a* 674 roseum] multum *ω*
 commiscuit] permiscuit *a* 683 fremit] tremat *ω* 684-701 *om. aß* 687 patulae
 lustrans tot] latae perlustrans *γ* 690 qui Phlegetonta, omnes] Quique Styga et Phleget-
 ontonta *γ* 697 hinc poena, hinc praemia pectus] pavor trepidantia, spesque *γ*
 698 sollicitant] corda trahunt *γ* 699-701 omittuntur *γ*

his father and the glories of his mother and successful battles combined with peace and concord, and Charles gleaming with calm expression. At the same time Elizabeth leads troops of maidens, the flames of magnates, nymphs remarkable for their beauty, but she is more beautiful herself with moistened and fragrant cheeks, while in her face she combines a blushing modesty with snow. No differently does Cynthia, studded with countless constellations, advance in the clear heaven, and all silver, she casts forth pure rays and outshines all the stars. Soon the throngs of lords increase, and resplendent in their great luxury, and shining illustrious in their jewels and stones, in closely-packed numbers they make for the council; the applause of men is unleashed and follows them as they proceed, as does the bray of trumpets, while shouting mixed with good-omened prayers strikes the high stars; the whole city is shaken and resounds to triumphant festivity.

It was night and Titan unable to endure the appearance of the wickedness that was close at hand, hastens forth, and stirring up his yoked team of horses with goads and with threats, now safely conceals himself in the opposite sphere; and wherever he flies, as he surveys so many crimes of the exposed earth, he sees none to match this one and he absolves of all wrongdoing the Thracians and bloodthirsty Getans and all those who drink of the Plata, Ganges, the swift Oraxes and the Phlegethon. The stars disperse and the Bear, vainly making trial of the impassable sea, is extinguished by the clouds that have crowded together. Night is suitable for these spirits and for their wickedness, but blacker than night itself is Fawkes, who conceals in his clothing a torch enclosed in lead and a hidden firebrand, and revisits the cellar, scene of the crime. And while he conceives of the tragic task and conceals the deed, he fears and hopes for many things: on this side punishment, on that side rewards cause anxiety in his heart, while his innards diverge in uncertain movement. And now Aequivocus supports him as he wavers, by storing up in his mind the thoughts of a feast, prayers, blind obedience and the Pope, and strengthens his heart by hurling the Furies upon it.

Ast oculos summo interea deflexit Olympo
 ille pater rerum, certo qui sidera cursu
 magna rotat, terrasque manu et maria improba claudit,
 confectasque videns fraudes, caecisque cavernis 705
 crimina vicino matura tumescere partu,
 mox Aquilam affatur, solio quae sternitur imo
 advigilans, liquidasque alis mandata per auras
 praecipitat: "Confestim Anglos pete nuncia clivos,
 et proceres summis curam de rebus habentes 710
 aggressa ambiguo fraudes sermone recludas,
 atque acres caeco turbes aenigmate sensus.
 Ipse ego dum voces alto sub pectore versant,
 ipse oculos mentemque dabo, qua infanda Iacobus
 ausa et Tarpeii evolvat conamina Patris." 715
 Dixerat. At levibus volucris secat aethera pennis,
 ocior et vento et rapido Iovis ocior igne.
 Iamque simul niveas Ludduni assurgere longe
 aspicit, aspectasque simul tenet impigra turres.
 Penniger hic primum contractis nuncius alis 720
 constitit, et formosa videns fulgescere tecta
 coctilibus muris parilique rubentia saxo,
 ingreditur, magno posuit quae splendida sumptu
 qui patriis maior succrevit laudibus heros,
 prudentis soboles patris prudentior ipse. 725
 Hunc ubi consilium pleno de pectore promit,
 mirantur Britones laeti, mirantur Iberi,
 et laudant animos trepidi metuuntque sagaces.
 Ille etiam gazam (maior tamen ipse) Britannam;
 ille etiam Musas tutatur, et otia Musis 730
 Chamus ubi angustas tardo vix flumine ripas
 complet decrepitoque pater iam deficit amne.
 Ille mihi labro teretes trivisse cicutas,
 ille modos faustus calamo permisit agresti.
 Huc ubi perventum est, mutato nuntius ore 735

707 imo] alto γ 709 nuncius ales $a\beta$ 711 aggressus, dubio $a\beta$ 716 At] hic $a\beta$
 haec γ 718 Londini ω 719 impiger arces $a\beta$ 720 Hic primum volucer $a\beta$
 721 splendescere γ 726-729 om. γ 726 pleno] immenso $a\beta$ 729 gazas $a\beta$
 Btitannam Q Britannas $a\beta$ 731-743 post 824 inser. γ 734 ille modos] et numeros
 $a\beta$ 735 mutato] egregio $a\beta$

But meanwhile that Father of the universe who rotates the great stars in their fixed course and who encloses with his hand the lands and the reckless seas, cast his gaze down from the top of Olympus. Seeing the trickery that had been completed and that crimes within the concealed cellars were ripe and swelling with a birth that was close at hand, soon he addresses the Eagle which keeps watch, stretched out at the foot of his throne, and through the clear breezes he hastens his instructions to its wings: "Messenger, immediately make for the slopes of England and addressing the lords who have responsibility for the chief affairs of state, unfold the fraud in words of ambiguity, and stimulate their keen powers of understanding with a hidden riddle. I myself, while they turn over your words in the depths of their hearts, I myself will provide the vision and the insight whereby James will interpret the unspeakable audacities and the attempt of the Tarpeian father."

He had spoken. But the bird more swiftly than wind and more swiftly than Jupiter's speedy fire, cleaves the air with light wings, and already he sees from a distance the snow-white towers of London rising up and, on seeing them, at the same time he swiftly lands on them.

The winged messenger, drawing together his wings, halted here first, and seeing the beautiful buildings gleaming and glowing red with brick walls and similar stone, he enters them — magnificent buildings founded at great expense by a lord who has grown even greater than the praises of his ancestors, offspring of a wise father, yet wiser himself. When he offers advice from the fullness of his heart, the Britons marvel at him in joy, the Spaniards marvel and in trepidation they praise and at the same time fear the shrewdness of his mind. In addition, he protects the royal treasure of Britain (yet he himself is greater); in addition, he protects the Muses and their leisurely haunts, where father Cam with difficulty fills the narrow river banks with his sluggish river, and now with his languid stream becomes weak. He has permitted me to wear out the smooth pipes with my lips; in his auspiciousness he has entrusted strains

perplexa attonito descriptas arte tabellas
tradidit heroi, et media sese ocus urbi
proripiens, suetis iterum se condidit astris.

Ille legens caeci stupuit vestigia scripti,
atque iterum voces iterumque recolligit omnes, 740
iamque hoc, iamque illud, iam singula pectore versat.
Quid te frustra, heros, angis? Non si Oedipus auctor
spondeat, hos animo speres rescindere nodos.
Non minimum est crimen crimen praesumere tantum,
nec virtus minima est scelus ignorasse profundum, 745
quod bene cum scieris, non sit tibi credere tantum.
Postquam fessa oculos nihil ipsa excerpere nigris
suspicio scriptis potuit, nihil omnibus actum
consiliis, ipsi referunt aenigmata regi.

Ille oculo nodos facili scelerumque nefandas 750
percurrrens animo ambages (dum nubila spargit
lux lucis mentemque aperit), mox omnia pandit
monstra aperitque nefas solus tenebrasque resolvit.
Quin medias inter technas iam nocte profunda
artificem sceleris prendunt. Patet alta nitroso 755
pulvere foeta domus penitusque recondita soli
crimina miranti et caelo ostenduntur aperto.
Non secus atque Euris media inter viscera pressis
rupta patet tellus magnoque fatiscit hiatu;
dissultant pavidi montes, penitusque cavernis 760
immittunt Phoebum, furiasque, umbrasque recludunt.
Apparet deforme chaos Stygiique penates;
apparet barathrum et diri penetralia Ditis,
miranturque diem perculso lumine manes.
Iamque ipso pariter cum crimine, criminis auctor 765
protrahitur, circum populus fluit omnis euntem:
expleri nequeunt animi frontemque tuendo
torvam squalentesque genas, nemorosaque saetis
ora et Tartareas referentia lumina taedas.

738 proripuit solitisque α : Proripiens, solitis $\beta\gamma$ 745 profundum] nefandum ω
746 bene] probe ω sit] est γ 751-752 (dum nubila ... aperit) *om. a β*
753 solus nefas α 754 rechnas Q: fraudes ω 755 nitroso] parato α 757 cri-
mina miranti] Apparent scelera ω 761 Phaebum Q 763 Apparent ω 768 tor-
vam] oraque ω 769 lumina neglectamque minantem in pectora barbam ω

to the rustic reed. When he arrived here, changing countenance, the messenger handed over to the astonished lord a letter written with artful obscurity, and swiftly hastening away from the middle of the city, he buried himself once more amid the stars, his usual abode.

Reading the vestiges of the obscure document, he was astounded, and again and again he reflects on all the words, and turns over one by one in his heart now this, now that. Why, lord, do you torture yourself in vain? Not if Oedipus offered himself as an authority would you hope to unfold in your mind these intricacies. It is no small crime to anticipate so great a crime, it is no small virtue to be ignorant of profound wickedness, and when you are fully aware of it, you cannot believe the extent of it. After suspicion herself, now with weary eyes, was unable to interpret anything from the dark writings, and nothing had been accomplished by all their consultations, they deliver the riddle to the king himself.

Running over with his clever eye the intricacies and unspeakable ambiguities of wickedness, (while a light scatters the clouds and reveals his mind's illumination), soon he uncovers all the monstrosities and alone he discloses the crime and dispels the darkness. Indeed in the midst of the artifices and now in the depths of night they seize the author of the wickedness; the deep house teeming with gunpowder lies open, and the crimes concealed deep within are exposed to the astonished sun and the open sky. No differently does the earth burst open when East winds have been suppressed in its very innards, and splits apart with a great chasm; the mountains leap apart in panic, and send Phoebus into their innermost caves, and disclose furies and shades. There appears unsightly Chaos and the Stygian gods; there appears the pit and the inner chambers of dreadful Dis, and the spirits of the dead, their vision dazzled, marvel at daylight. And now the author of the crime together with the crime itself is dragged forth; all the people stream around him as he proceeds; their minds cannot have their fill of gazing upon his savage countenance, his filthy cheeks, his face thickly planted with bristles, and his eyes that recall the firebrands of Tartarus. However resembling

Ille autem audenti similis, similisque timenti, 110
 nunc fremitu turbam et dictis ridere superbis,
 diductisque ferox inhiantem illudere labris;
 nunc contra trepidare metu, tremulosque rotare
 circum oculos; iam flagra miser dextramque parati
 carnificis medios inter saevire cruores 115
 sentit; iamque Erebum spectat furibundus hiantem,
 et semesa inter labentes membra dracones
 percipiens, aeternae horret primordia poenae.
 O pater, o terrae, et summi regnator Olympi,
 quas tibi pro meritis laudes, quae munera laeti 180
 tanta servati dabimus de clade Britanni?
 Non nos, non miseri, (nec tanta superbia lapsis)
 sufficimus meritis, sed quas prius ipse dedisti,
 quas iterum solas repetis, pater, accipe mentes.
 Dum domus aeterno stabit pulcherrima saxo, 785
 pulvere sulphureo et tantis erepta ruinis,
 dum tumidis Nereus undarum moenibus Anglos
 sospitet et tundat liventes aequore clivos,
 semper honos, semperque tuum solemne Britannis
 nomen erit; te, magne pater, te voce canemus, 790
 factaque per seros dabimus memoranda nepotes;
 tu, pater, Aeolia fratres sub rupe furentes
 tu premis, immensoque domas luctantia claustrum
 pectora; tu vastos turbata ad litora montes
 frangis aquasque inhibes, rector, retrahisque rebelles; 795
 tu, Pater, hibernae, tu laxas vincula nocti
 et lenta aestivo tardas vestigia soli;
 te reduces iterum flores, te terra iubente
 pubescit, virides crinescunt vertice fagi;
 imperiis sol ipse tuis immitior ignes 800
 diiaculat Nemeum medius, Cancrumque rubentem

776 furibundus] male-sanus *aß* 778-779 Non secus inceptam turbant cum visa
 quietem/mens [*non est meus ut Boas legit*] umbras inter manesque vagata nigrantes/
 sanguineo horrendum somnis saevire flagello/Tisiphonen oculisque trucem fulgere cruen-
 tis/aspicit, anguiferisque comas horrescere vittis/iamque fugam parat atque altos praemit-
 tere questus, haerent incertoque soni cum murmure languent. *inser. aß* 779 et] o
 ω 781 servati tanta *a* 789 tuis *a* 797 et lenta aestivo tardas] tardaque
 producis lento *a* et tarda aestivo lentas *ßγ*

one who is daring, resembling one who is afraid, with a roar and with arrogant words now he laughs at the throng and fiercely scoffs at them as they gape with their lips drawn apart; now on the contrary he is anxious with fear and rotates his flickering eyes, and already the wretch is aware of the scourge and the right hand of the executioner ready to rage amidst bloodshed, and in his fury already he looks at gaping Erebus. And noticing serpents gliding among half-eaten limbs he is horrified at the beginnings of his eternal punishment.

O Father, o ruler of the earth and of the heavens above, what praises, what gifts will we British, joyfully saved from so great a disaster, give you in return for your good deeds? We in our wretchedness cannot match your good deeds (nor would we who have fallen presume such arrogance). But Father, receive our minds which you yourself have given us, which alone you seek once more. For as long as the house stands most beautiful in its eternal stone, rescued from gunpowder and from such destruction; for as long as Nereus preserves the people of England with his swelling ramparts of waves and beats at the slopes blue from the sea, forever will you have honour and forever will your name be solemn to the British. Of you, of you, mighty Father will we sing with our voices, and we will cause your deeds to be recalled by our descendants of latter days. You, Father, you suppress the raging brothers beneath the cliff of Aeolus, and with a vast enclosure you tame their struggling hearts; you shatter huge mountains by the storm-tossed shores, and, ruler, you check and withdraw rebellious waters. You, Father, you loosen the shackles of winter's night and you slow down the tracks of the summer sun. At your command the flowers return once more, at your command the earth matures, and the summits of beech trees grow green with foliage. At your decree the sun itself very fiercely hurls down its fires in the midst of Nemeus and the blushing Crab and

inter, et effoetas tumido de semine fruges
 evocat, ac teneras duro coquit aridus aestu.
 Mox iterum ignoto dilapsus tramite Phoebus
 declinat, iamque Aethiopes Nilique fluenta, 805
 desertasque Libum propior despectat arenas.
 Nos anni premit effoeti properata senectus;
 flavent pampineae frondes, salicesque recurvae
 decrepitae fluxis calvescunt crinibus ulmi.
 Tu, pater, invictas quas iactat Iberia classes 810
 frangis, et ingentes dispergis in aethera motus,
 iamque etiam erepta (sacro mihi nomine) Elisa
 ingentem meritos cladem ingentemque timentes
 restituís, placidoque ferens tria sceptrá Iacobo,
 multiplicem nobis reddis placatus Elisam. 815

Salve, summe heros, aetatis gloria nostrae,
 o decus Anglorum, princeps, patriaeque beatus
 Musarumque pater, placidam tu pacis olivam
 Angligenis infers felix, maioraque votis
 gaudia et aeternos firmas in prole triumphos. 820
 Tu bifidum clauso nobis premis obice Ianum,
 Pieridumque potens armis feralia sacrae
 moenia prosternis Romae, regumque lupanar
 diruis et nimio meretricem vulnere figis.
 Accipe pubentem tenera lanugine Musam, 825
 qua salices inter spretas ulvamque palustrem,
 (non lauros palmasque ambit) proludere discit,
 et tentans sese innatos depascitur ignes,
 qua pater externis Chamus vix cognita rivis
 flumina demulcens regales alluit hortos, 830
 templaque submissis veneratur regia lymphis.
 Mox ubi pennatis crevit maturior alis,
 te canere audebit, tua, princeps, condere facta;

809 fluxis] laxis ω 814 placideque γ 821 nobis clauso ω 824-825 γ *inserit*
 731-734 *ita mutatos*: Tu mihi, tu labro teretes trivisse cicutas./Tu numeros faustus calamo
 permittis agresti./ Chamus ubi angustas tardo vix flumine ripas/Complet, decrepitoque
 Pater iam deficit amne. 825 pubentem] vestitam ω 826-831 *om.* ω Et cui
 paene puer prius ipse in patre fovebas./In [(β)] Iam] sobole agnoscas facilis vestigia
 cantus. ω

summons ripened fruits from swelling seed while the young fruits he parches and cooks with fierce heat. Next Phoebus falling once more upon an unfamiliar path is deviating, and now at closer range he looks down upon the Ethiopians, the flowing Nile and the sandy deserts of Libya. A hastened old age that belongs to exhausted years is pressing upon us; vine leaves and pruned willows are turning gold and withering; elms are becoming bald, their foliage passing away. You, Father, shatter fleets of whose invincibility Spain boasts, and you scatter huge rebellions into the air; and now also when Elizabeth (a name sacred to me) was taken away you restore those who are worthy and who are wary of huge disaster, and bearing three sceptres in the form of peace-bringing James, appeased, you render to us a manifold Elizabeth.

Hail, supreme hero, glory of our age, o honour of the English people, king and blessed father of your country and the Muses, happily you instate among inhabitants of England the gentle olive of peace, and in your descendants you firmly plant eternal triumphs and joys that are greater than our prayers. For us do you suppress the two-faced Janus by closing his bolt, and powerful in the weapons of the Pierians, you overthrow the deadly walls of holy Rome; you destroy the brothel of kings and you pierce the whore with a wound too great. Receive a Muse that possesses the young down of puberty, a muse which is learning to sport among the spurned willow and marshy elm (it does not traverse among laurels or palm trees), and making trial of itself, it feeds upon its innate ardour, where father Cam caressing with his outer currents rivers hardly known, washes the gardens of kings and with submissive waters pays homage to royal temples. Soon when it has grown to greater maturity

exhaustoque tumens Helicone, undantia pleno
carmina diffundet fluvio; caelum audiet omne,
audiet omne nemus: resonabilis accinet echo.

835

834 exhaustoque tumens Helicone] iamque sui non ipsa capax ω 836 accinet]
audiet ω

upon feathered wings, it will dare to sing of you and write of your deeds, your majesty, and swelling, having drunk its fill of Helicon, it will pour forth poems flowing from a full stream; the whole of heaven will listen; the whole grove will listen: the resounding echo will sing in accompaniment.

COMMENTARY

Locustae: For a comparison of the gunpowder conspirators with locusts, cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons* (London 1635), p. 893: "The instruments a swarme of Locusts, out of the infernall pit."; *ibid.*, p. 1012: *A Sermon Preached before Two Kings*: "For there he [Abaddon] hath his Emissaries, Locusts ascending out of the smoak of the Pit, (whose king he is) and those also, as well as their king Abaddon, are sworne enemies to Kings. He subornes these for this attempt. But who are these Locusts? A kinde of creatures, who have a Mans face, Womans haire: but Lions teeth, and their tayles the stings of Scorpions. No others, surely, (if Fathers which interpret this place, are to be heard) than those very same, which our Prophet David, twice in this Psalme, calls strange children: whom S. John afterward perceived to be Locusts"; *ibid.*, p. 1013: "And now he employes the helps and assistance of these (whether it please you to call them Locusts, or strange children) to whet these perillous swords, to mingle poysons, to give fire to Powder-plots"; John Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie or Treasons Master-Peece, The Powder-Plot* (London, 1617; rept., *The English Experience*, 317, Amsterdam/New York, 1971), part II, p. 93, l. 27: "And Plutoes Locusts full of fraude and guile"; Thomas Cooper, *Nonae Novembris Aeternitati Consecratae* (Oxford, 1607), p. 35: *infernales illi Locustae*. Cf. also the insect simile at *Locustae* 98-106 below, and Milton, *Q. Nov.* 178-180. At *Paradise Lost* I 338-345 the assembly of fallen demons is compared to a swarm of locusts: "As when the potent rod/Of Amram's son in Egypt's evil day/Waved round the coast, up called a pitchy cloud/Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,/That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung/Like night, and darkened all the lands of Nile:/So numberless were those bad angels seen/Hovering on wing under the cope of hell." For biblical parallels, see Introduction, p. xlix.

Pietas Iesuitica: It is possible that Fletcher's ironic reference to "piety" in the title of his poem reflects the title of Francis Herring's Gunpowder epic: *Pietas Pontificia*. Michael Wallace, while not including *pietas* in the title of his gunpowder epic (*In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi Liberationem*) does nevertheless in the body of the poem contrast the

pietas of king James with the *impietas* of the pope. Satan refers to James as *nimum pietatis amans rex ille Britannus* (41), while the *impietas* of the pope is contrasted with the *pietas* of kings in general. James is encouraged to acknowledge God as his guide since it is from him that pious kings receive glory; impiety is to shudder at the gunpowder plot through James's extirpation of papists: *utque magis scelus et male sanos horreat/impietas, gentem sceptris exscinde nefandam/tricipitis monstri* (408-410). James by contrast is to cherish all who hold piety dear (*At quibus est pietas et vitae candor amori* [417]). Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* likewise makes James the epitome of *pietas* — a second Aeneas, uniting the "Trojan" peoples: *Iam pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto/Teucrigenas populos, lateque patentia regna/Albionum tenuit* (1-3). For the *pietas* of James which effects the routing of *impietas*, cf. *Locustae* 23-25. Links with the *pious Aeneas* of Virgil's *Aeneid* pervade the poem (see E. Haan, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* and the Anglo-Latin gunpowder epic" *HL* 41 [1992], 221-250, at 232). In Milton also James's *pietas* is presented as the antithesis of the pope's *impietas*, conveyed by a description of a papal procession in terms which resemble a Bacchic rout (64-67). Cf. Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie*, p. 53, 3: [Fawkes's] "heart was cleane of Piety bereft." Cf. also Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 127-128: *Heu quantum sceleris peragis, quantum invehis orbil/impia religio?* For a moralistic analysis of *pietas* within the context of a gunpowder poem, cf. William Gager, *Pyr.* (1608), 461-468: *Virtuti numquam virtus, ut nec pietati/adversa est pietas, nec vero denique verum./Saepe gradu, numquam specie distinxeris ipsa./Virtus et Pietas et Verum sunt ita semper,/naturamque suam semper, sua nomina servant./Exitium patriae pietas efferre paratum/exigit, et semper; nec causa desinit ulla/esse pium facinus.* In his *History of of the Gunpowder Plot* (*State Trials* II, p. 195), James highlights "piety and justice" as characteristic of his own reign. See note at 12-28 below, Introduction, p. lxix, and Appendix II below.

1-10 Satan summons his demons to an infernal council

1-10 For the origins of the Gunpowder Plot in hell, cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 893: "... we must not looke to patterne it upon earth, we must to hell; thence it was certainly, even from the devill. He was a murderer from the beginning, and will bee so to the ending"; *ibid.*, p. 895: "Tell me now, if this were not His doing, and if it

should not have been a day of His making, the Devils owne making?" For the gunpowder sermon tradition see Introduction above, pp. lxxi-lxxvii. In the Renaissance, gunpowder was seen as the invention of the devil. Cf. John Donne, *Ignatius His Conclave*, ed. T.S. Healy (Oxford, 1969), p. 60: *nupera inventione, pulvere bombardico: de cuius Auctore, an Monachus scilicet fuerit, Daemonve, miror cur litigarent Antiquarii, cum unum sit*; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 22-24 where gunpowder is associated with the pope: *illi nitrum debetur et pulveris tormentarii elementa omnia, quo reges, regna, aulas, fora, tribunalia, demoliri possit, et devastare*. Pancirolli, *Nova Reperta sive Rerum Memorabilium Recens Inventarum* (Hamburg, 1602), p. 673 argues that Melanchthon and Polydore Vergil were the first to state that gunpowder came *monacho ministro et fabro, diabolo architecto*. The demonic origins of the cannon are described in Spenser, *Faerie Queene* I 7.13: "that divelish yron Engin wrought/In deepest Hell, and framd by Furies skill,/With windy Nitre and quick Sulphur fraught,/And ramd with bullet round, ordaind to kill"; Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* IX 91: "'O maladetto, o abominoso ordigno,/che fabricato nel tartareo fondo,/fosti per man di Belzebú maligno/che ruinar per te disegnò il mondo,/all' inferno, onde uscisti, ti rasigno.'/Cosí dicendo, le gittò in profondo" See also Ullrich G. Langer, "La poudre à canon et la transgression poétique: 'l'elegie du verre' de Ronsard", *RR* 1982, 184-194. Langer states: "L'association entre la poudre à canon et le diable est un lieu commun de la Renaissance" (184). Langer perceptively discusses Ronsard's elegy as reflecting manifold opinions on the invention of gunpowder (as the work of the devil, as analogous to Prometheus's theft of fire from the gods). It is possible, she argues, to draw a parallel between this "invention" and the concept of imitation in its broadest sense: "L'invention de la poudre à canon n'est pas séparable, en fin de compte, de la notion d'imitation" (188); cf. *ibid.*, "Gunpowder as Transgressive Invention in Ronsard" in Patricia Parker and David Quint, eds., *Literary Theory: Renaissance Texts* (Baltimore 1986), pp. 96-114. It is not without significance that Milton depicts the rebel angels having recourse to gunpowder in the war in Heaven in *Paradise Lost* VI. They use cannon as their weapon (VI 478-491). Milton describes the actual concoction of gunpowder at VI 512-515: "sulphurous and nitrous foam/They found, they mingled, and with subtle art,/Concocted and adusted they reduced/To blackest grain, and into store conveyed"; Raphael conveys the havoc caused by gunpowder when ignited in the cannon (VI 578-589). Perhaps the link between

demons and gunpowder is most fully embodied in a simile in *Paradise Lost* IV. Here Satan, suddenly surprised by Ithuriel and Zephon as he whispers into Eve's ear, is likened to gunpowder itself when ignited by a spark: "As when a spark/Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid/Fit for the tun some magazine to store/Against a rumoured war, the smutty grain/With sudden blaze diffused, inflames the air:/So started up in his own shape the fiend." (*PL* IV 814-819). For a general discussion of the impact of the Gunpowder Plot upon Milton's imagination, cf. David Quint, "Milton, Fletcher and the Gunpowder Plot", *JWCI* 54 (1991), 261-268. This illuminating survey concludes: "He [Milton] began and ended with the Gunpowder Plot, and by the end he had envisioned a heroic response that would turn the tables on his and England's enemy." (p. 267). This is reworked to some degree in his *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form From Virgil to Milton* (Princeton, 1992), chs. 7 and 8. Quint argues convincingly that in *Paradise Lost* the Restoration of Charles II is presented as a successful version of the Gunpowder Plot. Thomas Cooper, *Nonae Novembris*, p. 16, traces the origins of gunpowder back to the papists themselves: *Accedamus ad sulphur. Peculiaris haec Papismi machina. Ipsi originem debet, ipsi usum. Letalis hic et occultus laqueus*. Cf. Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 99-100: *Sulphureus tibi pulvis adest, ignisque sepultus/ inventum hoc nostrum est*.

1ff. The opening lines are marked by a downward progression from exposure to secrecy. A reference to an opening doorway (conveyed by *panditur* and similarly *patet* [1]) is followed by an allusion to the inner recesses of hell (*penetralia* [3]). The virtual claustrophobia of the assembly is suggested also perhaps by the choice of the verb *cogit* with the underlying implication of compulsion as well as summoning (rather than *vocat* as in the parallel passage in *Aeneid* X [see note at line 1 below]).

1 Panditur] The positioning of this word at the beginning of a book and moreover the general context of a council echo *Aeneid* X 1-3 as a divine council is summoned: *Panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi/ conciliumque vocat divum pater atque hominum rex/sidereum in sedem*. In his recent edition of *Aeneid* X (Virgil, *Aeneid 10* [Oxford 1991]) Stephen Harrison, commenting *ad loc.*, remarks: "The verb suggests both the physical opening of the hall of heaven and the revelation of its mysteries" (p. 57). In fact the opening lines of Fletcher's poem constitute a skilful parody of their equivalent in Virgil, and are marked by a series of oxymoronic statements. This is an infernal, as opposed to

an Olympian, council, highlighted by Fletcher's substitution of *infern*i for the Virgilian *Olympi*. The summons is issued, not by Jupiter, the *divum pater atque hominum rex* (*Aen.* X 2), but by Dis (Satan), a parody of a *rex*, whose subjects are sluggish and inactive. Furthermore the meeting-place is not a starry abode (*sideream in sedem*) as in Virgil, but the black recesses of hell (*nigra in penetralia* [*Loc.* 3]). In Virgil, moreover, Jupiter's purpose in summoning the council is to rebuke the gods for engaging in war: "*quae contra vetitum discordia? quis metus aut hos/aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit?*" (9-10). Virgil's council (the only divine council in the *Aeneid*) draws upon Homer, *Iliad* VIII 1ff. (and also XV 1ff., IV 1ff., XX 1ff.). In Homer, also, Zeus was eager to bring the war to a speedy conclusion and threatened the gods if they gave independent assistance to either the Greeks or the Trojans. In Fletcher, Satan, by contrast, encourages the fallen demons to take up arms (44-46; 55). In Virgil, Venus complains to Jupiter of the disturbances caused by Juno: the storm unleashed by Aeolus at her bribery ("*quid tempestatum regem ventosque furentes/Aeolia excitos* [X 37-38]), Juno's recourse to the powers of the underworld ("*nunc etiam manes ...movet*" [X 39-40]); Allecto raging through cities ("*Allecto medias Italum bacchata per urbes*" [41]). Fletcher skilfully inverts Virgil in that the consequence of the infernal council will be the unleashing of the very chaos of which Venus had complained. Thus the flight of Aequivocus from hell is compared to the unleashing of winds from the territory of Aeolus: *Non secus Aeoliis emissi finibus Austri* (213); Satan, like Juno, has recourse to the powers of the underworld (*manes*); as Aequivocus implants firebrands beneath the pope's heart at 368-373, Fletcher echoes closely the assault of Allecto upon Amata at *Aeneid* VII 341 ff. (see note *ad loc.*). However in these lines Fletcher also seems to fuse aspects of Jupiter's prophetic speech to Venus in *Aeneid* I. He cleverly transforms Jupiter's prophecies into a series of complaints issued by Satan. By implication the *pax Augusta* promised by Jupiter at *Aeneid* I 292-296 has already been achieved by James. In *Aeneid* I 294-296 Jupiter predicts that *Furor impius* will be imprisoned; in *Locustae* 13-14 this becomes a complaint as Satan bewails the fact that Erinnyes is imprisoned while *pietas* increases (23) and impiety has fled (*fugit impietas* [25]). James's reign heralds a *pax aurea* (12); at *Aeneid* VI Augustus is envisaged as restoring the golden age (*Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet/saecula qui rursus Latio ...*[792-793]). Augustus is prophesied as closing the gates of

Janus (*Aeneid* I 294); in *Locustae* 821 James has achieved this. See note *ad loc.*

1 inferni limen] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 27-28: *infernusque furens ad limina taetra ministros/concilium crudele vocat.*

1-2 patet ... Ditis/ianua] Cf. Man. II 951-952: *nigri ... Ditis ianua fertur/et finem vitae retinet*; Virgil, *Aen.* II 661: *patet isti ianua leto*; VI 106: *inferni ianua regis*; Prop. IV 11.2: *panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces*; Milton, *PL* X 443-444: "the door/Of that Plutonian hall". Contrast Milton, *Q. Nov.* 98 (of the pope): *cui reserata patet convexi ianua caeli*

2-3 concilium magnum Stygiosque quirites/accitos rex ipse nigra in penetralia cogit. For the origins of the Gunpowder Plot in an infernal council summoned by Satan, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 27-28, cited above in note to line 1. This device is not implemented in the gunpowder epics of Herring or Milton, although I have argued that the council of allegorical figures summoned by the pope at *Q. Nov.* 139-165 could be viewed as a displacement of the infernal council. See Haan, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*", 235-236. For the summoning of demons to an infernal council cf. Vida, *Christiad* I 133-135: *Protinus acciri diros ad regia fratres/limina, concilium horrendum, et genus omne suorum/imperat* discussed at Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxiii; Milton, *PL* I 754-756: "And trumpet's sound throughout the host proclaim/A solemn council forth-with to be held/At Pandaemonium."

3 nigra in penetralia] Cf. Petr. CXXI: *O genitor, cui Cocyti penetralia parent.* Cf. *Loc.* 763: *diri penetralia Ditis.* *Penetralia* is used of the Vatican at *Loc.* 368: *falsi ... penetralia Petri.* For *penetralia* used of hell, cf. Fletcher, *Mors est Malum*, in his *Silva Poetica* (Cambridge, 1633) in *The Poems of Phineas Fletcher*, ed. A.B. Grosart, (1869), III 329, lines 3-5: *At qui vicinia prior iam limina mortis/ingreditur, durique videt penetralia Ditis,/horret nigrantes perculso lumine manes.*

4-5 Volitant umbrosa.../numina] Cf. Sen. *Med.* 741: *opacam Ditis umbrosi domum.* Fletcher presents a skilful contrast between the heavy vowel sounds in *umbrosa* and *numina* and the light *volitant* conveying perhaps the weight of these fallen deities as they fly through the air. In Milton, *PL* I 227 the air "felt unusual weight" during Satan's flight. For a demonic flight through the breezes in response to a Satanic summons, cf. *PL* I 331-332: "They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung/Upon the wing."

5-6 Through such words as *senatus* and *subsellia*, the infernal council is presented as a parody of a gathering of the Roman senate (cf. *Stygios*

quirites [2]). For *subsellia* of the senate-house, cf. Cic., *Phil.* V 18: *cum inter subsellia senatus versarentur latrones*; cf. also *ibid.*, XIII 18; *Fam.* III 9.2. For a gathering of Catholics as a parody of the Roman senate, cf. *State Trials* II, p. 181: "S.P.Q.R. was sometimes taken for these words, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*; The Senate and People of Rome: but now thay may truly be expressed thus, *Stultus Populus quaerit Romam*; A foolish People that runneth to Rome." By contrast the House of Parliament is presented as constituting an ideal Roman *senatus*, e.g. *State Trials* II, p. 173: "We are to consider the Place, which was the sacred senate, the house of parliament." Cf. the description of the Opening of Parliament at *Loc.* 661-662 below: *Iamque optata dies aderat qua more vetusto/conveniunt magno proceresque patresque senatu*. Lines 5-6 are echoed ironically in the terms used by the leading Jesuit at *Loc.* 574-575 as he imagines the Opening of Parliament: *ut numero primum crescunt subsellia iusto/et semel intumuit pleno domus alta senatu*.

6 Considunt] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* X 5: *considunt tectis bipatentibus* (used of the gods assembling to council). In Fletcher, the verb is similarly placed at the beginning of the line. Boas misprints *confidunt*.

6 numeroque ... iusto] Cf. *Loc.* 574 below; Milton, *PL* X 887-888: "as supernumerary/To my just number found."

7 intenti exspectant] Cf. Livy, XXXVII 21.2: *per multas horas intenti utrimque velut iam futurum impetum exspectavere*.

8-9 Solio tum Lucifer alto/insurgens] Cf. Milton, *PL* II 1-5: "High on a throne of royal state ... Satan exalted sat." Later in the *Locustae* the throne becomes that of the pope *qui solio Christi assideo* (389) and ultimately the throne of God at 707.

9 dictis ... accendit amaris] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* X 368 (of Pallas): *dictis virtutem accendit amaris*. This echoing of the speech of the doomed Pallas to his fellow Arcadians constitutes perhaps a proleptic irony in that it anticipates the ultimate failure of Satan and of the plot as a whole.

10-97 Satan's speech: Satan draws his crew's attention to the increase in peace and religious piety. This poses a great threat to hell and its inhabitants, who are spending their time in sluggish idleness. He ironically suggests that they should ask God for pardon, but asserts that he for one will never give up his resolve. He reminds them of their former valour, and encourages them to cause harm to king James. Time is of the essence: James's glory is increasing as their punishment becomes graver.

10 manesque increpitans cunctantes] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* X 830-831: *increpat ultro/cunctantes socios*; Statius, *Theb.* X 132: *increpitans languentia pectora*.

11 caelo infensa cohors, exosa, expulsaque caelo] Cf. *Apolly.* I 22.1-2: "(I know not whether more/Hated, or hating heaven)"; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 158: *gens exosa mihi*. Cf. *Loc* 399 below: *exosum genus*. Contrary to the implication of Boas's punctuation, this phrase is almost certainly not an authorial comment, but part of Satan's address to the crew of demons. It is interesting to contrast this starkly realistic admission by Fletcher's Satan with the elevated tones of Satan in Vida, *Christiad* I 167: "*Tartarei proceres, caelo gens orta sereno*" or in Milton, *PL* II 11: "Powers and dominions, deities of heaven." Contrast also Jupiter's terms of address to the *caelicolae magni* at *Aen.* X 6.

12-28 Cf. James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot, State Trials* II, p. 195: "While this land and whole monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, as well at home, as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main good pillars of all good government, piety and justice, no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing." This was translated into Latin by Thomas Cooper, *Series Detectae Nuper Coniurationis* (bound with *Nonae Novembris* in BL Oxford 1607 edition [809.d.2. (2)]): *Cum haec regio atque imperium felici sinceraque tam domi quam foris pace floreret, pietate et iustitia fultum, quarum columnarum robori omnis politae Reipublicae administratio nititur; nulla foris aemulatio, non mussitatio interna, nullae vel querentium voces vel indignantium audita*. See however note at 60 below.

12 cernitis ut superas mulcet pax aurea gentes?] Cf. *Apolly.* I 22.2-3: "ah see the earth/Smiling in quiet peace, and plenteous store." For Satan's anger at the sight of peace achieved during the reign of king James, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 22-26: *cum late placidas urbes pacataque regna,/ tranquilla et populos degentes pace videret,/ quemque sua sub vite suaeque sub arboris umbr/auspiciis, Iacobe, tuis, clarissime regum,/ continuo invidiae stimulant/ incanduit aestu*; Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 34-35: *pacifico tandem sceptro cadente monarchaeliure suo*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 31-35: *At simul hanc [sc. terram] opibus et festa pace beatam/aspicit, et pingues donis Cerealibus agros,/quodque magis doluit, venerantem numina verilsancta Dei populum, tandem suspiria rupit/Tartareos ignes et luridum olentia sulphur*. Cf. also the behaviour of Pluto in the anonymous *Pareus* (1585) 10-18, and of Dis in Thomas

Campion, *Ad Thamesin* 65-77, or the bitter reaction of Satan to the sight of the beautiful earth at *Paradise Lost* III 553-554: "but much more envy seized,/At sight of all this world beheld so fair", and more generally his feelings on beholding the Garden of Eden at IV 358-392. It is possible that Fletcher's description of the Golden Age of peace initiated by the reign of James is intended to recall the peace heralded by the incarnation of Christ (note in particular such phrases as *invexit superos terris* [21] and *dissolvit tenebras* [21]). This is marked by the routing of evils (24-28). Later (29-31) the envisaged assault upon the realm of Satan is presented in terms evocative of a harrowing of Hell. See notes *ad loc.*

12 *Pax* is described as *aurea*. For the virtual golden age of peace restored through the presence and efforts of James, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 43-44: *illius auspiciis en aurea nascitur aetas;/en antiqua redit pax et concordia mundo*. Cf. *Loc.* 430: *Pax simul incedit laeto Saturnia vultu* and 821 below where James is depicted as closing the gate of Janus. For the soothing effect of peace (*mulcet*) upon the environment, cf. Milton, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, 45-52: "But he her fears to cease,/Sent down the meek-eyed Peace,/She crowned with olive green, came softly sliding/Down through the turning sphere/His ready harbinger,/With turtle wing the amorous clouds dividing,/And waving wide her myrtle wand,/she strikes a universal peace through sea and land."

13 **Bella silent**] Cf. *Apolly.* I 23.8: "Warres selfe is slaine"; Milton, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* (53-54) (after the descent of Peace): "No war, or battle's sound/Was heard the world around."

13-14 These lines skilfully invert the description of the opening of the gates of Janus by Juno in Virgil, *Aen.* VII 622: *Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postes*. For the description of the imprisonment of fury at a time of peace, cf. the prophecy of Jupiter at *Aen.* I 293-296: *dirae ferro et compagibus artis/claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus/saeve sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis/post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento*. (This is echoed by Fletcher at the end of the poem in which he attributes the closing of the Gates of Janus to James himself [line 821]).

14 **inque Erebum frustra e terris redit exsul Erinnyes**] Erinnyes was one of the Furies. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VII 447: *tot Erinys sibilat hydris*; The return of Erinnyes to the underworld without success (*frustra* [14]) inverts perhaps the return of Allecto (*victrix* [544]) at *Aen.* VII 561-562:

illa autem attollit stridentes anguibus alas/Cocytique petit sedem super ardua linquens. There ironically she unleashes Erinnys (*Aen.* VII 570-571: *pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys,/invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat*). Cf. also Ovid, *Met.* I 241; IV 490; *Apolly.* I 23.5-6: “Erinnys, forc’t to quit/Her strongest holds, from earth is driven away”; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 409-412 (where papists are equated with Erinnys): *gentem sceptris exscinde nefandam/tricipitis monstri, diris quae infecta venenis/in scelus inque nefas caeco ruit acta furore,/contemptrixque poli et terrae communis Erinnys.* For the banishment of Fury from the earth (*e terris redit exsul*), cf. in a general sense the routing of the pagan gods in Milton, *On the Morning of Christ’s Nativity* 197-228.

15 Divino interea resonant sacraria verbo] Cf. *Apolly.* I 24.4-5: “that sacred word/(Lock’t up by Rome) breakes prison, spreads the light.”

17 et victus victorque novos vocat impiger hostes.] Cf. *Apolly.* I 28.5-6: “Th’unwearied Pastors with steel’d confidence,/Conquer’d, and conquering fresh their fight renew.”

18 minis stimulans] Cf. Statius, *Theb.* VI 319: *urge aliquos [equos] ... stimulisque minisque.*

19 corda remulcet] Cf. Statius, *Theb.* VIII 93: *minas stimulatque corda remulce.* The echo of Statius is ironic in view of the context. There the prophet of Apollo stretches forth an olive-branch and appeals to the ruthless Pluto (the *dux Erebi* [VIII 22]) and the *manes* for clemency and mercy. For points of contact between Fletcher’s Satan and Statius’s Pluto, cf. notes at 29-30, 34 and 183-185 below.

20-22 Cf. *Apolly.* I 25.1-2: “Spring-tides of light divine the ayre surround,/ And bring downe heaven to earth.” For Satan’s painful awareness of the religious devotion nurtured by James and, more specifically, by his version of the Bible (*sancti vulgata scientia Scripti* [20]), cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 57-58 as Satan complains that James zealously applies himself to kindling the heavenly light of Christ: *Christi coelestem accendere lucem/sedulus incumbit*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 33-34: as a result of James’s efforts the populace venerates the sacred power of the true God: *venerantem numina veril/sancta Dei populum.*

21 luce corusca] For the use of this commonplace phrase, cf. Statius, *Silv.* I 1 71-72; Herring, *P.P.* 421.

22 noctemque ... inertem] Cf. Sen. *Nat.* VII 24.3: *stellas quae noctem ... minime vacuum et inertem esse patiuntur.*

23 Crescit in immensum pietas] For the increase in *pietas* as a result of James's reign, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 45-46: *en pietas et cana fides iam libera passim/incedunt nostrarque canunt de plebe tropaea*; *Campion, Pulv. Con.* I 37-38: *templis accrescere sacros/cultus*. Cf. Fletcher, *Silva Poetica, In Eandem* [sc. *Electionem Coll. Trin. Camer.*], ed. Grosart, p. 325, lines 4-6: *Crescet in immensum, si succos forte salubres,/atque novo dabitur firmatum inolescere trunco./Crescet miscabitque ingentes aethere ramos*.

23-24 finesque recusat/religionis amor] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 194-195: *sacrae tantusne movebit/religionis amor?*; *Reg. Lib.* 346; Gager, *Pyr.* 686-687 (of the conspirators): *solo se religionis amore/suscepisse nefas clara sint voce locuti*. For the fostering of religion, cf. the words of the pope in *Pareus* 92-93: "*Religio nova per terras caput altius omnes/extulit et ceu flamma Euro vivescit eundo*".

24-25 Fugit Ignorantia, lucis/impatiens] Cf. *Apolly.* I 25.2-3: "deafe Ignorance./ Vext with the day, her head in hell hath drown'd". For the routing of impiety etc., cf. the fleeing of the pagan gods at the birth of Christ in Milton, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* 197-228.

25-26 fugit .../ ... et numquam non devius error] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 56-57: *errorumque illic tenebris omnique remota/barbarie*; *Apolly.* I 25.7: "Error's lost and fled." For a detailed representation of Error, cf. Spenser, *Fairie Queene*, I 1.13-16.

26 nuda Superstitio] Cf. *Apolly.* I 25.4-5: "Fond Superstition, frighted with the glaunce/Of suddaine beames, in vaine hath crost her round."

29-30 Virginiam (nostras, umbrae, tot saecula sedes)/aggreditur] Cf. *Apolly.* I 29.2-4: "Virginia our soile, our seat, and throne,/(To which so long possession gives us right,/As long as hells) Virginia's selfe is gone." For demonic fear for their "kingdom", cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 85: *qua labenti igitur placeat succurrere regno*. Cf. also Pluto's fear of threats posed to his kingdom in Statius, *Theb.* VIII 34-36: "*quae superum labes inimicum impegit Averno/aethera? quis rupit tenebras vitaeque silentes/admonet? unde minae?*" and later his precautionary measures: "*praeterea ne sola furor mea regna lacessat,/quaere deis qui bella ferat, qui fulminis ignes/ infestumque lovem clipeo fumante repellat./faxo haud sit cunctis levior metus atra movere/Tartara, frondenti quam iungere Pelion Ossae*" (*Theb.* VIII 75-79). In *Campion, Pulv. Con.*, I 61-62, Satan states: *novus ecce superstes/imminet huic capiti infestus magis atque tremendus*. For classical parallels, cf. the words of

Charon to Aeneas and the Sibyl at *Aen.* VI 388-397, and the Sibyl's reassurance that they intend no harm (VI 399-404). (As proof she reveals the golden bough concealed in her garment — ironically echoed perhaps in the concealment of the torch in Fawkes's clothing at 694-695 below). It is noteworthy that Milton uses a similar device to convey demonic anticipation of Christ's harrowing of hell at *Paradise Lost* II 326-328: "but over hell extend/His empire, and with iron sceptre rule/Us here, as with his golden those in heaven." There is perhaps an implicit parallel here between James's religious efforts and the power of God, thereby reinforcing the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Contemporary sermons on the plot likewise reinforced this doctrine. Cf. Andrewes, *Sermons*, IV 293: "To think they can set themselves against Kings, and yet never have to do with God at all. But Kings, we said, are in God; so they must go through Him, before they can come at them; they cannot deal with Kings, but they must begin with God first." S.P. Revard, *The War in Heaven*, p. 90, states: "Nowhere is the 'divine right' of the king more persuasively argued than in the Gunpowder sermons."

31 vix hunc nobis Acheronta relinquet] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 135: *vel regna Acherontis haberent*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 7: *ferus ignifluo regnans Acheronte tyrannus*. Cf. also *Apolly.* I 29.7-8: "What's next but hell? That now alone remains,/And that subdu'de, even here he rules and raignes."

32-33 somno sternimur] This description of the slothful demons echoes Virgil's account of the sleeping seals of the prophet Proteus at *Georg.* IV 432: *sternunt se somno diversae in litore phocae* (cf. *Livy* VII 36.2: *superscandens vigilum strata somno corpora miles*.) By implication Satan is equated with Proteus. For identification of the whore of Rome and Fawkes with Proteus, see notes at 323-326 and 610 below. Cf. also Herring, *P.P.* 63-65.

32 immemori ... somno] Cf. Milton, *PL* II 73-74: "if the sleepy drench/Of that forgetful lake benumb not still."

32-34 Cf. *Apolly.* I 30.1-2: "While we (good harmeles creatures) sleep, or play,/Forget our former losse, and following paine." For the slothful inactivity of the fallen angels, cf. Milton, *PL* I 266: "Lie thus astonished on the oblivious pool."

33-34 supini stertentes] Cf. Horace, *S.* I 5.19: *nauta ... stertitque supinus*. In this poem, the famous journey to Brundisium, the speaker conveys in homely terms the raucous and quarrelsome behaviour of the crew on board the ship. The boatman falls asleep and snores. An air of

bathos is thus afforded to the presentation of the demons in Fletcher. For the posture of the sleeping demons, cf. Milton, *PL* I 321-323: "To slumber here, as in the vales of heaven?/Or in this abject posture have ye sworn/To adore the conqueror?"

34 festam ... quietem] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 31: *festam pace*. For Satan rebuking his crew for indulging in repose, cf. *PL* I 318-321: "or have ye chosen this place/After the toil of battle to repose/Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find/To slumber here, as in the vales of heaven?" Contrast the complaint of Pluto at Statius, *Theb.* VIII 44-46: "*quid me otia maestas/aeuus et implacitam prohibet perferre quietem/amissumque odisse diem?*"

35-38 Cf. *Apolly.* I 30. 4-6: "Shall we repent good soules? or shall we plaine?/Shall we groane, sigh, weep, mourne, for mercy pray?/Lay downe our spight, wash out our sinfull staine?" Cf. Milton, *PL* I 111-116: "To bow and sue for grace/With suppliant knee and deify his power,/Who from the terror of this arm so late/Doubled his empire, that were low indeed,/That were an ignominy and shame beneath/This downfall."

36 regnique labantis] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 85 *qua labenti igitur placeat succurrere regno*.

39 immemor irae] Cf. *Loc.* 403 below: *oblitusque irarum*; Milton, *PL* XI 877-878: "That God vouchsafes to raise another world/From him, and all his anger to forget."

39-42 Cf. *Apolly.* I 30.7-9: "May be hee'l yeeld, forget, and use us well,/Forgive, joyne hands, restore us whence we fell:/May be hee'l yeeld us heaven, and fall himselfe to hell." For demonic contemplation of the possible mercy of God, cf. Milton, *PL* II 237-239: "Suppose he should relent/And publish grace to all, on promise made/Of new subjection."

43-44 These lines closely echo the words of the ill-starred Euryalus in Virgil, *Aen.* IX 281-282: "*me nulla dies tam fortibus ausis/dissimilem arguerit*". A level of irony is apparent in that Euryalus is responding to ill-omened gifts (for example: *cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido* [IX 266]) presented to him by Ascanius. Cf. *Apolly.* I 31.1-2: "But me, oh never let me, Spirits, forget/That glorious day ..." The Nisus/Euryalus story colours Fletcher's later account of the pope's response to the gunpowder plot as outlined by Aequivocus at 584-591 — lines which echo the response of Aletes to the doomed plan volunteered by Nisus and Euryalus in *Aen.* IX 247-250. See note *ad loc.* For

irony underlying a plan volunteered by Satan, cf. Milton, *PL* II 463-467 in which the "deliverance" for the demons, as promised by Satan, parodies the deliverance which Christ will gain for all mankind. Contrast the words of Christ to God the Father at *PL* III 236-237: "Behold me then, me for him. life for life/I offer, on me let thine anger fall." This echoes Nisus at *Aen.* IX 427: "*me, me adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum*". See Haan, "Heaven's Purest Light: *Paradise Lost* 3 and Vida," *CLS* 30.2 (1993), 115-136 at 132-133.

44-45 rescindere caelum ...coniurato ... milite] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* I 280: *et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres*. This is a reference to the war of the giants and their failed attempt to dethrone Jupiter by piling Ossa on Pelion and mount Olympus on top of both. (Cf. also the description of the infernal punishment suffered by the same giants at *Aen.* VI 582-584: *hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi/corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum/ adgressi superisque Iovem detrudere regnis*). For a detailed account of gigantomachy in Virgil, cf. Philip Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford 1986). The echoing of the unsuccessful attempt of the giants by Fletcher's Satan at this point ironically anticipates the ultimate failure of the gunpowder plot. In general, the invention of gunpowder was viewed in the Renaissance as the stealing of the thunderbolts of Jupiter. Cf. for example, Conradus Celtis, *Ode* III 8: *Exsecrat Germanum inventorem bombardae, cuius pila paene traiectus fuisset* (Strassburg 1513), 1-8: *Primus per auras saxa volantia/ardente torquens concita pulvere/ quique igne sternaci sonorolaera commovefecit ictu,/is regis olim ficta tonitrua/et vera struxit cum Iove fulmina,/dum mille momento per unam/corpora comminuit ruinam*. The theme recurs in John Barclay, *De Coniuratione in regem regnumque Britanniae detexta* 5 die Novemb. 1605 in his *Sylvae* (London 1606), 42, 1-2: *O scelus, o veterum proles vesane gigantum,/ iamne iuvat bellare diis?*; William Drummond, *Madrigals and Epigrams* (1616) xviii. Here Jupiter on first hearing the noise of the cannon wonders "What mortall Wight had stollen from him his Thunder"; and in Milton, *In Inventorem Bombardae* 3-4: *At mihi maior erit, qui lurida creditur arma,/et trifidum fulmen surripuisse Iovi*.

45 coniurato ... milite] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 202 *coniurata cohors*; *PL* II 751: "In bold conspiracy against heaven's king."

46 ferventique iuvat miscere tumultu] Cf. Herring. *P.P.* 237: *et horrisono misceri cuncta tumultu*.

47-49 Cf. *Apolly*. I 32.1-2: "Where are those spirits? Where that haughty rage,/That durst with me invade eternall light?" Cf. Milton, *PL* II 134-137: "Or could we break our way/By force, and at our heels all hell should rise/With blackest insurrection, to confound/Heaven's purest light." See Haan, "Heaven's Purest Light" passim.

52-53 Cf. *Apolly*. I 33.1-3: "Now by your selves, and thunder-danted armes,/But never danted hate, I you implore,/Command, adjure, reinforce your fierce alarmes."

53 indomitumque odium] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 39: *odiumque vetustum*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 13. *odium struit inter amicos*.

56 quod magis urit] For the metaphorical "burning" within Satan, cf. Milton, *PL* II 707-708: "Incensed with indignation, Satan stood/Unterrified and like a comet burned"; IX 467: "But the hot hell that always in him burns."

56-57 Cf. *Apolly*. I 33.7-9: "if now we doe not ply,/We 'lone in hell, without due company,/And worse, without desert, without revenge shall ly."

58ff. Cf. *Apolly*. I 34.5-9: "Yet in his members wee him grieved see;/For, and in them, he suffers; where his heart/Lies bare, and nak't, there dart your fiery steele./Cut, wound, burne, seare, if not the head, the heele./Let him in every part some paine, and torment feelee." Cf. Vida's Satan (of Christ) at *Chr.* I 193-196: *Iste autem quamvis mortalia membra caducus induerit, tamen est nostris imperditus armis./Nempe ego saepe adii, coramque interritus urgens/tentavi insidiis nequicquam*.

58-60 Cf. *Apolly*. I 34.1-3: "He/Can feelee no wounds, laughs at the sword, and dart,/Himselfe from grieffe, from suff'ring wholly free."

59 securum sine fine tenet, sine milite regnum] Cf. Jupiter's prophecy of the limitless power of Rome in Virgil, *Aen.* I 279: *imperium sine fine dedi*. For the supposed *securitas* of James and his kingdom, (see however note at 60 below), cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 6 (of James): *occultique doli securus et hostis*. In *Paradise Lost* this is elevated to a heavenly level as God the Father is likewise "secure" from hostile threat — at least until Satan engineers his revolt: "But he who reigns/Monarch in heaven, till then as one *secure*/Sat on his Throne" (*PL* I 637-639). Italics are mine. Cf. *PL* II 358-359: "though heaven be shut,/And heaven's high arbitrator sit *secure*." For useful points of contact between *In Quintum Novembris* and *Paradise Lost*, cf. Macon Cheek, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*: An Epic Fore-shadowing", *SP* 54 (1957), 172-184;

Haan, *Neo-Latin and Vernacular*, pp. 238-250. Contrast Satan at *Paradise Lost* I 261 (of hell): "Here we may reign secure."

60 a nullo petitur; nullo violatur ab hoste] Fletcher, like Milton (see previous note), overlooks previous threats posed to James's life. Contrast Herring, *P.P.* 94-94: an allusion to the unsuccessful plot of William Watson and Lord Grey to seize the king at Greenwich, 24 June 1603; *ibid.*, 97: a reference to the disturbances in Wales; contrast also Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 61-62: an allusion to the Gowrie conspiracy, April 2 1600; 72: the Watson/Grey plot, and that of Sir Walter Raleigh and Henry Brooke, eighth Lord Cobham, to dethrone the king and place Arabella Stuart upon the throne. Contrast Thomas Cooper, *Nonae Novembris*, p. 3: *Proditio igitur non minima imperii labes. Hac Davides saepius, hac Elisabetha nostra, hac noster Iacobus saepe petitus. Testis Parreus, Abingtonus, Squirus, Watsonus etc. Testis, qualem nec antiquitas videt nec posteritas exemplum datura simile, sulphurea proditio.* Similarly Gager alludes to the Gowrie conspiracy (5 Aug. 1600) at *Pyr.* 189-193: *Nulla dies opifex, sed nec feriata repente/par tibi, ne Augusti iumdudum Quinta, putetur./quamvis clara tuo, praeclare Iacobe, periculusque ad prodigium, mundoque stupente, fugato,/vitiataque tua per tot miracula caede.*

65 Accelerat funesta dies] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 272: *funestam ... horam.*

65-66 iam limine tempus/insistit] Cf. *Apolly.* I 33.6: "Oh our short time, too short, stands at the dore."

66-69 Cf. *Apolly.* I 35

70-72 Cf. *Apolly.* I 36.1-2: "But we fast pineon'd with darke firy chaines,/Shall suffer every ill, but doe no more.", Milton, *PL* I 48: "In adamantine chains and penal fire." For the chaining of Satan and his crew in a Stygian setting, cf. Milton, *PL* I 209-210: "So stretched out huge in length the archfiend lay/Chained in the burning lake."

71 flammis et vivo sulphure tecti] Cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 34-35: *tandem suspiria rupit/Tartareos ignes et luridum olentia sulphur*; *PL* I 68-69: "Fed/With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed."; II 68-69: "And his throne itself/Mixed with Tartarean sulphur and strange fire."

73-75 Cf. *Apolly.* I 36.3-5: "The guilty spirit there feeles extreamest paines,/Yet feares worse then it feeles: and finding store/Of present deaths, deaths absence sore complains." Compare the restless torment suffered by Satan and his crew in Milton, *PL* I 65-69: "Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace/And rest can never dwell, hope never

comes/That comes to all; but torture without end/Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed/With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed." Cf. also the words of Moloch at *PL* II 88-92: "Where pain of unextinguishable fire/Must exercise us without hope of end/The vassals of his anger, when the scourge/Inexorably, and the torturing hour/Call us to penance?"

78-79 *Mors vivit, moriturque inter mala mille superstes/vita, vicesque ipsa cum morte et nomina mutat*] Cf. *Apolly*. I 36.7-9: "A life that ever dies, a death that lives,/And, worst of all, Gods absent presence gives/A thousand living woes, a thousand dying griefes." Fletcher's paradoxical *Mors vivit, moriturque ... vita* is virtually translated by Milton at *PL* II 624 in the description of hell: "Where all life dies, death lives".

80-81 Cf. the immutability of the *mens* in hell as described by Satan in Milton, *PL* I 252-255: "Receive thy new possessor: one who brings/A mind not to be changed by place or time./The mind is its own place, and in itself/Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

89-90 Cf. *Apolly*. I 38.1-3: "O let our worke equall our wages, let/Our Judge fall short, and when his plagues are spent,/Owe more then he hath paid, live in our debt."

98-119 The reaction of the crew to Satan's speech: they applaud and prepare for war. Once the noise has settled down, the most cunning of them, Aequivocus, rises from his seat and makes a speech.

98-99 *Insequitur fremitus .../...submissae franguntur murmure voces*] Cf. Vida, *Chr.* I 164-165: *fremitu vario sonat intus opaca/regia*; Milton, *PL* II 284-285: "He scarce had finished, when such murmur filled/The assembly."

100-106 Cf. *Apolly*. I 40; cf. also Milton, *Q. Nov.* 178-180: *qualiter interstrepitant circum mulctralia bombis/agmina muscarum, aut texto per ovilia iunco,/dum Canis aestivum coeli petit ardua culmen*; *Paradise Regained* IV 15-17: "Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,/About the wine-press where sweet must is poured,/Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound." The fly simile can of course be traced back to its classical origins in Homer, *Iliad* II 469-471 (of Greek forces); XVI 641-643 (of Trojans swarming round the corpse of Sarpedon).

104 *sociosque vocantes*] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 10: *dinumerans sceleris socios*; *PL* I 606: "The fellows of his crime, the followers rather."

108-109 Aequivocus quo non astutior alter/Tartareos inter technas effingere patres] On Aequivocus, cf. *Apolly.* II 5.6-9: "Once Proteus, now Equivocus he hight,/Father of cheaters, spring of cunning lies,/Of slie deceite, and refin'd perjuries,/That hardly hell it selfe can trust his forgeries." Cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II, p. 234: "Their dissimulation appeareth out of their doctrine of equivocation ..." and the ensuing discussion of this doctrine at 234-235; Gager, *Pyr.*, 708-714: *His enutrita est parili Aequivocatio mamma,/paene gemella soror, soboles, Arri, tua quondam,/sedibus infernis altisque emersa tenebris,/reddita nunc luci, librisque Scholisque recepta,/ingenuis fugienda viris, sanctisque pudenda./ Quippe malum, quo non aliud versutius ullum,/fraude doloque viget, spargitque latendo venena;* Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 1013: "And are not these of ours just like them? only except, what David calls lying, that, they call Equivocating. A diverse title, no different things." Cf. also Vicars, *Mischiefes Myserie*, p. 10, 3: (of catholics) "Oh impious equivocating race!"; Donne, *Ignatius His Conclave*, p. 26: *Eius [sc. Ignatii] autem filii, quos aut in terra reliquit Ignatius, aut posthumi nati sunt, quam recte cum Spiritu tuo Pontifice Romano, viri Aequivoci dici possunt. Nec eo solum sensu aequivoci, quo Legati Papae in tuo Concilio Nicaeno dicti sunt aequivoci, quia idem sentiebant, idem loquebantur, sed potius ob introductam in mundum novam Aequivocationis artem.*

112 tondi lunato vertice fratres] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 82-83: *pendetque cucullus/vertice de raso.*

116-117 Cf. *Apolly.* II 9.3-6: "their Champion,/Whom lesser States, and all the vulgar rout/In dangerous times admire and gaze upon,/The silly Commons circle him about."

120-203 Aequivocus's speech: Aequivocus begins by pointing out to Satan that all their previous efforts have been in vain. God has exposed their evil fraud. Nevertheless their courage will not fail them. If they wish to be successful, they must employ novel tactics and replace veteran soldiers with fresh infantry. Optimistic about their prospects of success, Aequivocus outlines potential victims of their fraud. He encourages the demonic crew to arm themselves with venom and guile. His task will be to go to Rome and ensnare the pope. Promising to return with success, he urges Satan to make room in hell for their new victims.

120 princeps umbrarum] Cf. *Campion, Ad Tham.* 20-21: *At pater umbrarum cui nox parit horrida natos/terribiles*; *Campion, Pulv. Con.* I 31: *umbrarum dominus*; *Milton, Q. Nov.* 78: *niger umbrarum dominus*.

120 Erebiq̃ue potestas] Cf. *Campion, Pulv. Con.* I 144: *Erebi rex*.

121-122 nequicquam insumpsimus artes./Nil tanti valuerē doli] Cf. the words of Satan in *Wallace, Reg. Lib.* 39-40: *Iam nostrae pereunt artes odiumque vetustum;/excubiis frustra assiduis iam cingimus orbem*, and in *Campion, Pulv. Con.* I 40-41: *nil prodesse dolos, sancto se sternere regi/nequicquam insidias*. Cf. also *Vida, Chr.* I 195-196 (Satan of Christ): *Nempe ego saepe adii, coramque interritus urgens/tentavi insidiis nequicquam*.

122-123 nihil omnibus actum/magnorum impensis operum] Cf. *Apolly.* II 10. 3-4: "In vaine our labour, all our art's in vaine;/Our care, watch, darts, assaults are all mispent."

123-127 Fletcher reproduces these lines with slight variations in *Nisa Ecloga* in his *Sylva Poetica*, p. 335, 1-7.

123-124 verum omnia retro/deterius ruere inque bonum sublapsa referri] Cf. *Apolly.* II 10.7-8: "Our spight his pleasure makes, our ill his good,/Light out of night he brings, peace out of blood." The Latin lines and the ensuing simile closely echo and invert *Virgil, Georg.* I 199-203: *sic omnia fatis/in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri,/non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum/remigiis subigit, si bracchia forte remisit,/atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alyeus amni*. There the failure is that of the farmer in face of a variety of pests which besiege his crops (ironic perhaps in that in *Loc.* 281-287 the planting of weeds on a metaphorical level by demonically inspired monks echoes *Georg.* I 150-154 [see note *ad loc.*]). In Fletcher the guile of Satan and his accomplices has been converted to good. Cf. *Milton, PL* I 216-218 (of Satan): "enraged might see/How all his malice served but to bring forth/Infinite goodness."

128 Nec quemquam accusa; tentatum est quicquid aperta/vi fieri aut pressa potuit quod tectius arte] Cf. *Apolly.* II 12.7-9: "Oh blame us not, we strive, mine, wrastle, fight;/He breakes our troopes: yet thus, we still delight,/Though all our spight's in vain, in vain to shew our spight."

132 Cf. *Hercules's* exposure of *Cacus's* fraud in *Virgil, Aen.* VIII 263-264: *abstractaeque boves abiurataeque rapinae/caelo ostenduntur*. This makes an implicit analogy between demons/Cacus and God the Father/Hercules.

133 Quin soliti lento reges torpescere luxu] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 106: *At tu si tenero mavis torpescere lecto.*

134 Palladiis ... tecti armis] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 435: *turbatae Palladis armis.*

140-141 Est hic, est vitae et magni contemptor Olympi,/quique oblatam animus lucis nunc respuat aulam] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib. contemptrixque poli et terrae communis Erinnyes*. The words of Aequivocus closely echo Euryalus at *Aen.* IX 205: *et hic, est animus lucis contemptor*. There he pledged to Nisus that it was not for the purpose of sending him (Nisus) alone into battle that he followed Aeneas in the past (*nec tecum talia gessi/magnanimum Aenean et fata extrema secutus* [IX 203-204], echoed by Fletcher at 138-139: *nec talia .../gessimus* [138-139] and *tua signa secuti* [139]). In view of the tragic fate of Euryalus, Fletcher's echo constitutes a proleptic irony. Previously (43-44) it was Satan who was equated with Nisus. Perhaps Fletcher through the Nisus/Euryalus analogy is highlighting a close bond between Satan and Aequivocus.

140-142 Cf. *Apolly.* II 18.1-4: "See here in broken force, a heart unbroke,/ Which neither hell can daunt, nor heaven appease:/See here a heart, which scornes that gentle yoke,/And with it life, and light, and peace, and ease."

142 regia caeli] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* I 503; *Aen.* VII 210.

144-145 ingentia caeli/atria] Cf. Milton, *Epigr.* I 5: *Scilicet hos alti missurus ad atria caeli.*

144-147 Cf. *Apolly.* II 19.3-5: "When hee shall leave his throne, and starry hall,/Forsake his deare-bought Saints, and Angells quire,/When he from heaven into our hell shall fall."

146 noctemque profundam] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* IV 26; VI 462.

153 conamina] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 168; *Locustae* 256 and 715 below.

153-155 Cf. *Apolly.* II 21.1-3: "Nor shall I need to spurre the lazy Monke,/Who never sweats but in his meale, or bed,/Whose forward paunch ushers his uselesse truncke."

158-160 trahensque/invisam caelo lucem, tenebrisve nitentem/involvens, iam nube diem, iam nocte premebat] Cf. Satan's words in Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 87-88: *Cuperem iam Tartara caelolmiscere et Stygiis involvere cuncta tenebris.*

162 immisso ... lumine] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 246: *trepidant immisso lumine manes.*

164-165 Cf. *Apolly*. II 24.1-2: "Those troupes I soone disband now useles quite;/And with new musters fill my companies."

167 ipsum invadere caelum] Cf. Milton, *PL* II 342-343: "with dangerous expedition to invade/Heaven."

170-171 calcare tyrannum/sub pedibus] Cf. *Pareus* 82 (of papal authority): *pedibusque meos calcavit honores*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 111: *sacraque calcabit pedibus tua colla profanis*.

176-178 Cf. *Apolly*. II 32.3-4: "So her defects with art they finely cover,/Cloth her, dresse, paint with curious colouring."

180-181 For Satan (and his crew) as exiled from heaven, cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 8: *aethereo vagus exsul Olympe*; *PL* I 36-38: "what time his pride/Had cast him out from heaven, with all his host/Of rebel angels"; I 44-47: "Him the almighty power/Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky/With hideous ruin and combustion down/To bottomless perdition."

183-185 For this wish that the powers of the underworld be unleashed upon the earth, cf. Statius, *Theb.* VIII 46-47: *pandam omnia regna,/si placet, et Stygio praetexam Hyperiona caelo*. Fletcher's lines also seem to invert *Aen.* VIII 243-246, in which the exposure of Cacus's cave is likened to the earth gaping apart to reveal the underworld: *non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens/infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat/pallida, dis invisae, superque immane barathrum/cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes*. Fletcher develops Virgil by substituting the amazement of the *superi* at the sight of Avernus for the trembling of the *manes* at the inrush of light. Later this will be echoed in the Cacus/Fawkes analogy as onlookers marvel at the exposure of the plot. See note at 757-761 below.

190 imperio stimulet diroque intorqueat aestu] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 26: *continuo invidiae stimulantem incanduit aestu*.

194 Ast ego] Cf. the words of Juno in Virgil, *Aen.* I 46; VII 308; cf. *Locustae* 386 below.

198-199 inania late/ undique collectis supplebo regna colonis] For the concept of filling up a vacant hell, cf. Milton, *PL* II 833-835: "and therein placed/A race of upstart creatures, to supply/Perhaps our vacant room"; VII 189-190: "A better race to bring/Into their vacant room."

200-203 For hell opening up to receive new inhabitants, cf. Milton, *PL* IV 381-385: "hell shall unfold,/To entertain you two, her widest gates,/And send forth all her kings; there will be room,/Not like these narrow limits, to receive/Your numerous offspring"

204-221 *Aequivocus bursts out of hell and invades the light. He is followed by an ill-omened troop. As they fly through the sky the sun departs in terror, and night ensues. The flying demons are compared to the south wind ravaging the countryside. The earth intimates their arrival and swells with hatred as the demons spread guile and crime.*

204-212 For a demonic flight accompanied by a series of ill-omens in the natural world, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 151-156 (of Abaddon): *Egressus medio Phoebi pallentis in aestu/infecit radios ululatuque aethera rupit/horrendo. Sonuere undae, montesque cavernis/ingemuere cavis. Ferale Britannia murmur/praesensit: Tamesis revolutis torpuit undis./sanguinei et toto rutilarunt aethere nimbi*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 45-47 (of Satan): *Hactenus; et piceis liquido natat aere pennis;/qua volat, adversi praecursant agmine venti,/densantur nubes, et crebra tonitrua fulgent*; cf. the reaction of the world of nature to the flight of Satan in Milton, *PL* I 225-227: "Then with expanded wings he steers his flight/Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air,/That felt unusual weight."

205 *lucemque invasit apertam*] Cf. *Apolly.* II 39.1: "With that the bold black Spirit invades the day."

206 *Insequitur deforme chaos*] Cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 969: "... a Chaos of confusion". The same phrase is used by Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie*, p. 27, 7. More generally, for the chaos that would have ensued had the plot been successful, cf. John Barclay, *De Coniuratione in regem regnumque Britanniae detexta 5 die Novemb. 1605*, 2-3: *iam turbine dirol iam revocare chaos patriaeque indicare mortem*. For a train of evils attending the flight of a demon from hell, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 149-150: *Hunc comites Fraus Proditioque sequuntur,/et lateri Scelus omne, Nefas, Audacia adhaerent*; Milton, *PL* II 1024-1027 as Sin and Death follow Satan from hell to earth: "Sin and Death amain/Following his track, such was the will of heaven,/Paved after him a broad and beaten way/Over the dark abyss."

207-212 Cf. *Apolly.* II 39.4-6: "heav'n shuts his eyes;/The starres looke pale, and early mornings ray/Layes downe her head againe, and dares not rise."

209-210 For ill-omens provided by the sun in response to the evils of man, cf. in a general sense the eclipsing of the sun in reaction to the death of Julius Caesar at *Georg.* I 466-468: *ille etiam exstincto misera-*

tus Caesare Romam,/cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit/impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.

213 Aeoliis emissi finibus Austri] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* I 51-52: *nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,/Aeoliam venit.*

214-216 Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* I 58-59: *ni faciat [sc. Aeolus], maria ac terras caelumque profundum/quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.*

215 arboreos fetus] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* IV 125; X 665; XIV 625; XV 96.

216 turbine convellunt rapido verruntque per auras] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 231: *vi rapida secum tollant verrantque per auras.*

217-218 maestus ... colonus] Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* IV 916: *maestus in amissis illa colonus habet.* Fletcher's simile of the farmer looking on in helpless dejection as his crops are being snatched away recalls perhaps the *pastor nescius* simile of *Aen.* II 303-318. Aeneas's reaction to the burning city of Troy resembles a shepherd watching a torrent sweeping away his crops.

219 subitoque inferbuit aestu] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 26: *continuo invidiae stimulant incanduit aestu.*

221 Circum umbrae volitant, fraudesque et crimina spargunt] For demons recruiting accomplices in crime, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 68 (of Satan): *Prensat ubique homines*; 115-116 (of Fawkes): *eructat letale venenum/secure et sceleris trahit ad consortia multos*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 252-253 (of Fawkes): *ascitisque sibi sociis scelerumque magistris/quos simili serpens feritate inflavit Avernus*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 9-11 (of Satan): *Fortē per immensum terrarum erraverat orbem,/dinumerans sceleris socios, vernasque fideles,/participes regni post funera moesta futuros.* Cf. also the demons in Vida, *Chr.* I 156-159: *Nec minus illi etiam diversis partibus orbis/conveniunt properi, qui terris omnibus errant/hortantes scelera, ac variis mortalia ludunt/pectora imaginibus, rectique obliviam suadent*; Milton, *PL* I 365-369: "till wandering o'er the earth./Through God's high sufferance for the trial of man./By falsities and lies the greatest part/Of mankind they corrupted to forsake/God their creator." In book IX Satan roams the "orb" for a similar purpose (IX 82-86).

222-252 The demons individually ensnare victims from different parts of the globe: Hungarian Jesuits; the Suedes, Sarmatians, Greeks, Turks, Persians, Asians.

230-232 A reference to the first False Dimetri, (one of at least twenty people who claimed to be Dimitri, the missing brother of Tsar Fedor), pretender to the throne of Muscovy (1604-6). He enjoyed the favour of magnates of Lithuania, who in October 1604 provided him with an army of 3,500 men. Leading these forces he entered Russia. Cf. *Apolly.* III 11.1-2: "With mimicke skill, they trayne a caged beast,/And teach him play a royall Lyons part." Cf. *Apolly.* III 11.1 note: "Griskey Strepey a Mosique, & sometime Chorister at Precheste in Mosko, and from thence with an Embassadeur passing into Polonia, and there cloystered, was taught by the Jesuites to play the King, and usurping the name of Demetrius (slaine by Borrisse Federowich) under that mask with the Polonian forces, and by the revolt of the Russes was crowned Emperour."

231-232 *mentitaque veris/texunt*] For the admixture of truth and lies, cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 192-193 (Fama) *veraue mendax/nunc minuit, modo confictis sermonibus auget*. For classical parallels of Fama's use of truth and falsehood, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* IV 188: *tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri*; Ovid, *Met.* IX 137-139: *Fama loquax .../...quae veris addere falsa gaudet*; Sil. Ital. VI 554: *vera ac ficta simul spargebat Fama per urbem*.

232 *implent rumoribus agros*] An ironic echo perhaps of Virgil, *Ecl.* VI 48: *Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros*.

237-239 Cf. *Apolly.* III 13.1-3: "Some fiends to Grece their hellish firebrands bring,/And wake the sleeping sparks of Turkish rage;/Where once the lovely Muses us'd to sing."

243-256 Fletcher includes these fourteen lines in *In Effigiem Achmati Turcarum Tyranni*, in his *Silva Poetica*, p. 322.

249 This line echoes the labours of the Cyclopes as described by Virgil at *Georg.* IV 172-173 (a simile) and at *Aen.* VIII 450-451: *alii stridentia tingunt/aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus Aetna*.

251-252 Cf. the behaviour of Aeneas at *Aen.* XII 107-108: *Nec minus interea maternis saevus in armis/Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitāt ira*.

253-256 Authorial intervention lamenting the destruction that would have ensued if Christ had not averted the disaster.

253-254 *Heu quae Christicolis caedes, quam debita pestis/imminet!*] For the envisaged slaughter of Christians, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 311-312: *totque viros simul insignes, clarissima cunctae/lumina Christiados, miseranda morte perire*.

256 vana manu conamina ludas] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 168: *vanaque perversae ridet conamina turbae*; *PL* I 43-44: "Raised impious war in heaven and battle proud/With vain attempt"; Sil. Ital. XII 405: *risit nube sedens vani conamina coepti*. The motif of God deriding his enemies originates in Psalm II 4: "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision". Cf. Milton's translation of the same Psalm: "he who in Heaven doth dwell/Shall laugh, the Lord shall scoff them, then severe/Speak to them in his wrath, and in his fell/And fierce ire trouble them." (*Ps.* II 8-11). Cf. also the words of Belial at *PL* II 190-191: "He from heaven's highth/All these our motions vain, sees and derides"; and V 735-737: "Mighty Father, thou thy foes/Justly hast in derision, and secure/Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain." Cf. II 731; VIII 78. For a discussion of these passages, cf. Kitty Cohen, "Milton's God in Council and War" *MS* 3 (1971), 170-171; S.P. Revard, *The War in Heaven*, pp. 264-306.

257-263 Aequivocus arrives at Rome and enters the Vatican, optimistic that he will be successful.

257-259 For the arrival of a demon at Rome, cf. Satan in Milton, *Q. Nov.* 48-53: *Iamque pruinosas velox superaverat Alpes, et tenet Ausoniae fines, a parte sinistra/nimbifer Appenninus erat, priscique Sabini, dextra veneficiis infamis Hetruria, nec non/te furtiva Tibris Thetidi videt oscula dantem; hinc Mavortigenae consistit in arce Quirini.*

260 mitrati ... tyranni] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 237: *pater mitratus*; Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie*, p. 58, 17: "Mitred whore"; Apolly. III 16.2-3: "Where sits that Priest-King, all the Alls Sovereigne:/Three mitred crownes the proud Imposter weares."

264-269 Invocation to the Muses, asking them to reveal by what steps Rome exchanged an emperor for a monk.

264-265 Dicite, Pierides, quis nunc tenet Italia primus/arva? Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII 62-63: *vos quae responderit Alpheisiboeus/dicite Pierides*; Ovid, *Fasti* VI 799: *Dicite, Pierides, quis vos adiunxerit isti*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 19-20: *Dicite, Pierides, quo primum eruperit ortu/machina tanta mali et tanti discriminis horror*; Fletcher, *Apolly.* III 17.1: "Say Muses, say; who now in those rich fields"; Milton, *PL* I 376: "Say Muse, their names then known."

266 pingues aptans sibi Roma cucullos] Cf. Milton, *Epigr.* II 7: *Sic potius foedos in caelum pelle cucullos*; *Q. Nov.* 82-83: *pendetque cuculus/ vertice de raso.*

269 pontifice Augustum ut mutent monachoque monarcham] Cf. *Apolly.* 3.17.9: “Cesars to chaunge for Friers, a Monarch for a Monk?”

270-366 *The gradual stages of Rome's wickedness, her rise to power, her arrogance, guile, debauchery, ignorance, error, incest, greed, luxury.*

277 litora complent] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* III 71; III 676.

278 subiectasque procul despectant vertice terras] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 188: *lumina subiectas late spectantia terras*; *PL XII* 640: “the subjected plaine”.

284 laeta seges] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* I 1.

285-287 This description of weeds echoes Virgil, *Georg.* I 150-154: *mox et frumentis labor additus, ut mala culmoslesset robigo segnisque horreret in arvis/carduus; intereunt segetes, subit aspera silva/lappaeque tribolique, interque nitentia culta/infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae.*

287 letaeos operata papavera somnos] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* I 78: *urunt lethaeo perfusa papavera somnos.*

289 tritico] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* I 219-220: *at si triticeam in messem robustaque farra/exercebis humum.*

vilemque phaselum] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* I 227: *si vero viciamque seres vilemque phaselum.*

291 Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* V 37: *infelix lolium et steriles nascuntur avenae*; *Georg.* I 154: *infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae.*

293 Christi Pro-christus] Cf. *Apolly.* V 33.6: “Thy cursed foe that Pro-Christ trophies reares”; George Goodwin, *Melissa Religionis Pontificiae* (London 1620), *Elegy IX*, Q1^v *Ter Petrus te (Christe) fide titubante negavit;/te Papa Prochristus terque quaterque negat* (23-24).

294-302 These lines seem to present the pope as a second wooden horse of Troy. At first his enclosure in a dark womb (*claususque utero ... opaco* [294]) recalls the description of the Greeks concealed in the wooden horse as described in Virgil, *Aen.* II 18-20: *huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim/includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas/ingentes uterumque armato milite complent* and II 258: *inclusos utero Danaos.* His progress is impaired by *integra ... auspicia* (cf. the role of

Laocoon, who attempted to dissuade the Trojans from admitting the horse, hurled a javlin in its side, and suffered the consequences in the form of a snake who devoured his sons and himself. This was regarded as an omen from the gods). In Fletcher the pope *exsilit* (Loc. 299) paralleling perhaps the joyful emergence of the Greeks from the horse (*laetique cavo se robore promunt* [Aen. II 260]). Fletcher perhaps ironically develops the analogy in the horse-riding metaphor of 300 and finally in 303 as the *auriga* is displaced.

296 ausisque ingentibus obstant] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 221: *crudelibus obstitit ausis*; Ovid, *Heroides* XIV 49: *sed timor et pietas crudelibus obstitit ausis*.

301-302 Maurice, the Byzantine Emperor (582-602) was put to death (with his sons) by Phocas who had been proclaimed Emperor by the mutinous army in France. Phocas was Emperor from 602-610. On Maurice, see M.J. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice* (Washington, 1939); R. Paret, "Dometianus de Melitène et la politique religieux de l'Empereur Maurice", *RevÉtByz* 15 (1957), 42-72; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991) II 1318. On Phocas, see among others D. Olster, *The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century: The Reign of Phocas* (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago [1976]).

302 excutit aurigam] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* XII 469-472 as Juturna unseats Turnus's charioteer Metiscus, assumes his form, and takes his place: *aurigam* Turni media inter lora Metiscum/*excutit* et longe lapsum temone reliquit;/ ipsa subit manibusque undantis flectit habenas,/cuncta gerens vocemque et corpus et arma Metisci. Cf. also in a general sense the simile at *Georg.* I 513-514 as war-torn Rome is likened to a chariot out of control: *et frustra retinacula tendens/fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas*.

303 Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 83: *pendetque cucullus/vertice de raso*.

306-309 For criticism of papal accoutrements and vestments etc. cf. Loc. 260 above: *mitrati tecta Tyranni*; cf. also 377-378: *sedet in mediis diademate Paulus/tempora praefulgens triplici*; Fletcher, *In Certamen Papae Pauli cum Venetis*, *Silva Poetica*, p. 318: *Petri, Papa, crucem, superbus ense/Pauli fers, Venetis ferox minatus*; Gager, *Pyr.* 912-915: *Illis De Petro ac Petra, De Clavibus atque/De Duplici gladio, fucata coloribus olim/friget, et in toto est tritissima fabula mundo,/iam totiens explosa Scholis irrisaque nostris*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 55-60: *Cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem,/panificosque deos portat, scapulisque virorum/evahitur, praeceunt submisso poplite reges,/et men-*

dicantur series longissima fratrum;/cereaue in manibus gestant funalia caeci;/Cimmeriis nati in tenebris vitamque trahentes. Cf. the vivid account of the extravagance of the Vatican as described in Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 135-139: *Vestibuli ad laevum patet ingens porticus auro/argentoque insignitis suspensa columnis./Turget imaginibus locus, expressisque resurgunt/ pontifices triplo diademate vesteque picta/usque a Bonifacio duce quo nova Roma triumphat.*

310-312 These lines echo the criticism of Salmoneus in Virgil, *Aen.* VI 590-591: *demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen/aere et cornipedum pulso simularet equorum.* In the gunpowder epic tradition is usually the invention of gunpowder itself that is likened to the stealing of Jove's thunderbolt. Cf. Milton, *Epigr.* V 4. *et trifidum fulmen surripuisse Iovi.* For gunpowder as the perversion of Jupiter's thunderbolts, cf. Conrad Celtis, *Exsecrat Germanum Inventorem Bombardae* (*Odes* III 8) 1-8 quoted at note to 44-45 above. Cf. the boast of the rebel angels at *PL* VI 490-491 that they have "disarm'd/The thunderer of his only created bolt."

318 Meretrix vetula] Cf. 824 below, and Herring, *P.P.* 68-69: *caeco Meretricis amore/flagrantes.*

318-324 For a comparison with Circe, cf. Vicars, *Mischeefes Mysterie*, part 2, 58, 19-21: "Whose Cup full fraught with Circes poysonous spell,/They having drunke, have Metamorphoz'd beene/Into the shapes of Swine, or Haggas of hell"; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 17-18: *quas numquam callida Circelfinixerit Aeaeisve ferox Medea venenis.* For the transformation of Odysseus's men into beasts at the hands of Circe, cf. Homer, *Odyssey* IV 456-457; Ovid, *Met.* VIII 732-737; Sil. Ital. VII 423-425.

319-320 et artes/infandas magicis dirum miscendo susurris] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 69 *tacitisque susurris.* Fletcher's lines refer to magic and witchcraft. James's prose treatise, *Daemonologie*, denouncing witchcraft, had appeared in 1599.

323-326 In these lines the whore of Rome is ironically presented as a second Proteus. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* IV 407-408, and particularly 440-442: *Ille suae contra non immemor artis/omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum.* Cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 910: "Is the divell dead too? If he be not, it skills not, if they were. His powder-mill will still be going; he will still be as busie, as ever, in turning over all his devices, in turning himselfe into as many shapes as Proteus, and all to turne us to Some mischiefe." Cf. the description of Fawkes in Herring, *P.P.* 64-65: *alter/ Proteus in formas facile versatilis omnes.*

327-329 Cf. *Apolly*. III 28.5-6: "There sits dull Ignorance, a loathly dame,/Two eyes, both blind; two eares, both deafe shee has;"

330 *Filius huic Error comes assidet*] Cf. *Apolly*. III 29.1-2: "Close by her children two; of each side one,/A Sonne and Daughter sate: he Errour hight."

330-331 *ille vagantes/excipit hospitio*] Cf. *Apolly*. III 30.1-2: "Her Sonne invites the wandring passengers/And calls aloud."

339-340 *Christumque venenans/porrigit immixtis regi sacra tanta cicutis*] Cf. *Apolly*. III 39.7-9: "And pois'ning Christ, poisons with him his King;/He life and death in one draught swallowing,/Wash't off his sinfull staines in that Lifes deadly spring."; See note *ad loc*: *Apolly*. III 39: "Henry Emperour was poysoned in the Sacrament given by a Preist, set on by Robert King of Naples, and Robert by Clement 5. Avent."

346-347 *ululantes/...manes*] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 149-150: *perpetuoque leves per muta silentia manes./exululat tellus et sanguine conscia stagnat*; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.553-554: *ululasse per agros/deformes animas*.

347 *flexo veneratur poplite manes*] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 57: *prae-eunt submisso poplite reges*. Cf. also Catullus LXIV 370; Ovid, *Met.* VII 191; Val. Flacc. VI 245.

348 *Hic Cereri et fluido procumbit stultus Iaccho*] Contrast Fletcher, *Anni Temporum Mutationes, Variorum Causa Morborum, Silva Poetica*, p. 331, lines 16-17: *Non me illis quisquam Baccho indulgere diebus,/non Cereri, aut moneat longo contendere cursu*.

349 For contempt for the Eucharist, cf. Buchanan, *Franciscanus* 740: *de pane ut numen faciant*; Herring, *P.P.* 280: *triticeosque deos*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 56: *panificosque deos*.

355 *Romulidum ... patrum*] Cf. Jeremy Taylor, *A Sermon Preached in Saint Maries Church of Oxford* (Oxford, 1638; rpt Da Capo Press *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* [Amsterdam/New York, 1971] *English Experience* 354, p. 6: "as if they had been sonnes of the Law, or foster-brothers to Romulus and suck'd a wolfe, and they are Romanists too."

357-359 *Hic sobolem impurus prohibens castosque hymenaeos,/ah, pathicos ardet pueros et mascula turpis/scorta alit*] Cf. Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie*, p. 47, (*A breefe recapitulation of Romes enormities*), 28-30: "Forbidding Marriage, not Adulteries,/Yea, incest and such other sins of shame/They slight esteeme, which Christians should not name."

361 *oviumque magistros*] Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* II 33.

365 nummorumque infanda sitis] For the insatiable thirst for money, cf. the equation with Tantalus at Horace, *S. I* 1. 66-70: *sic solitus: 'populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudol/ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca'.* *Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat/flumina — quid rides? mutato nomine de telfabula narratur.*

365 tumet improba fastu] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 91 *indomito passim turgescere fastu.*

367-379 Aequivocus enters St Peter's. Placing Stygian firebrands in pope Paul's heart, he enflames him with anger. Paul summons a council of Jesuits ready to use either guile or open war. Standing in their midst, Paul makes an angry speech.

368-373 These lines are modelled on the description of Allecto's assault upon Amata at *Aen.* VII 341ff.

369-370 Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VII 344 (Amata): *quam super adventu Teucrum Turnique hymenaeis/femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant.* Cf. *Apolly.* IV 3.3-4 (of Paul): "Boiling his restless heart in envious spight,/ Gall'd with old soares, and new Venetian wound."

371-372 Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VII 346-347: *huic dea caeruleis unum de crinibus anguem/conicit.* Cf. *Apolly.* IV 4.4-5: "But now from's damned head a snake he flings/Burning in flames."

371-373 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 4.5-7: "the subtle Serpent flings/To th'aymed marke, and fills with fiery stings/The Papal breast."

372 ille improbus ira] Cf. *Apolly.* IV 4.7-8: "his holy bosome swells/With pride and rage."

374-376 For an account of a papal procession, cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 55-60: *Cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem,/panificosque deos portat, scapulisque virorum/vehitur, praeceunt submisso poplite reges,/et mendicantum series longissima fratrum;/Cereaque in manibus gestant funalia caeci,/Cimmeriis nati in tenebris, vitamque trahentes.*

376 Marti ... aperto] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 113.

377-378 sedet in mediis diademate Paulus/tempora prae fulgens triplici] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 46: *concussum est triplici regnum diademate fulgens*; Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 137-138: *expressique resurgunt/pontifices triplo diademate vesteque picta*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 55: *Cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem*; 94: *diademataque triplex*; *Epigr.* III.3: *Frenduit hoc trina monstrum Latiale corona*; Fletcher, *Purple Island*, VII 62: "A Miter trebly crown'd th' Impostour

wore;/For heav'n, earth, hell he claims with loftie pride./Not in his lips, but hands, two keyes he bore,/Heav'ns doores and hells to shut, and open wide."'; Milton, *Sonnet XVIII* 11-12: "th'Italian fields, where still doth sway/The triple tyrant." Contrast *Cantabrigiensium Dolor et Solamen* (Cambridge, 1625), pp. 26, 34, 54, in which it is king James who is given a *diadema triplex*! On the papal triple tiara worn for non-liturgical ceremonies, see *Catholic Dictionary*, eds. W.E. Addis, T. Arnold, (rev. P.E. Hallett, 15 ed. St Louis, 1951), p. 779: "The tiara is placed on the Pope's head at his coronation ... with the words 'Receive the tiara adorned with three crowns, and know that thou art Father of princes and kings, Ruler of the world, Vicar of our Saviour Jesus Christ.'" Cf. James's criticism of "triple-crowned" popes at *Premonition*, 128: "But how they are now come to be Christs Vicars, nay, Gods on earth, triple-crowned, Kings of heaven, earth and hell."

378-379 vultuque dolorem/praefatus] Cf. *Apolly*. IV 6.6-8: "Their eyes all met in th' holy Fathers face,/There first foresee his speech: a dusky cloud/Hangs on his brow."

380-464 Pope Paul's speech. Rebuking his listeners for failing to avert the imminent collapse of Rome, he complains of the losses which he has suffered in spite of his authoritative position. He has been disdained by the Venetians, French, Spanish and Britons especially during the reign of Elizabeth. Yet Elizabeth has been succeeded by a more formidable king who is responsible for the onset of peace. Surveying his grounds for fear in James, Luther, the princes Henry and Frederick, Charles and also Mary, he concludes by lamenting the destruction that is at hand.

383 Fata vetant] Cf. Juno at Virgil, *Aen.* I 39: *quippe vetor fatis*.

384 monachus] Luther.

386 Cf. Juno at Virgil, *Aen.* I 46 and VII 308.

386-387 quem strato venerantur corpore, sacris/blanda etiam pedibus libantes oscula reges] For kings kissing the pope's feet, cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 112 [*pedes*] *cuius gaudebant soleis dare basia reges*. Cf. *Apolly*. III 26.3-4: "And now all earthly Gods with servile awe/Are highly grac't to kisse his holy shooes."; Mantuan, *Opera* (Bologna, 1502) 243^v; *Opera* (Paris, 1513), I, 239^r: *sancta procul positi subeunt tua limina reges/et pedibus figunt oscula prona tuis*.

390-391 tot mala cotidie et semper crescentia inultus/damna fero] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 82-83: *Siccine dedecores igitur patiemur inultum/terris eicere?* Cf. *Apolly.* IV 10.6-8: "And oh shall I,/Christ, God on earth, so many losses beare/With peace and patience?"

391-392 quisquam Romanum numen adoret/aut vigiles supplex munus suspendat ad aras?] These lines echo the indignant words of Juno in Virgil, *Aen.* I 48-49: *et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat/praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?* Although the words are spoken by the pope at this point, it is likely that Fletcher is reworking a feature common to the gunpowder epic tradition, namely, the identification of an angry demon with Virgil's Juno. This occurs in Herring, *P.P.* 21 as the *meretrix* refers to the British people as a *gens inimica mihi*, a direct echo of Juno at *Aen.* I 67; the *meretrix* proclaims herself a powerful queen (*sum regina potens* [49]) just as Juno had done (*Aen.* I 46); in Wallace, Satan's frustration at his inability to kill James (59-66) is conveyed in terms which recall Juno's angry speech at *Aen.* VII 293-297. Later his question as to who will worship the name of the Beast or place offerings upon his altars (*Et quis nomen Bestiae adoret/praeterea aut aris nostris imponat honores?* [83-84]) echoes Juno at *Aen.* I 48-49. Cf. also *Pareus* as Pluto/Satan states: "*Meane hanc unam modo temnere gentem/numina*" (18); Vida, *Chr.* II 191: *et quisquam illius certum non numen adoret?*

394-395 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 11.1: "Belgia is wholly lost."

396-397 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 11.3: "Fraunce halfe fal'ne off, all truce and parl' refuses."

396-399 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 26.1-2: "The flowres of Fraunce, those faire delicious flowres,/Which late are imp't in stemme of proud Navar."

398-401 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 11.5-6: "Their King with painted shew our hope abuses,/And beares our forced yoke with scorne, and paine."

399 exosum genus] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 158: *gens exosa mihi.*

401 ingentem ... dolorem] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* V 172.

402-407 For the lion simile, cf. *Apolly.* IV 11.7-9.

403 caudamque remulcens] For the taming of a wild beast in a simile, cf. the guilty retreat of a wolf (used of Arruns) in Virgil, *Aen.* XI 809-813: *ac velut ille, prius quam tela inimica sequantur,/continuo in montis sese avius abdidit altos/occiso pastore lupus magnoque iuvencol/consciis audacis facti, caudamque remulcens/subiecit pavitan-tem utero silvasque petivit.* Cf. George Goodwin, *Melissa* P3, 2^v, lines 11-12: *Saepe animosorum compescitur ira leonum?/Ira Papistarum*

saevior usque furit. Cf. also Fletcher, *Anni Temporum Mutationes*, p. 331, 10-11: *At leo cum duras Nemeus fuderit iras, / flava tumet bilis, fluctuque expumat amaro*.

409 tota divisos mente Britannos] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 60: *et toto divisos orbe Britannos*; Virgil, *Ecl.* I 66: *et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*; *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials II*, p. 254: "And as that error was the cause of Adam's exile from Paradise which was *hortus conclusus*; so had such another almost divided us and our heirs both from our lives and estates: *Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*." Fletcher has transformed the notion of geographical isolation to one of religious alienation.

412-413 Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 59-60 *Heu stirpem invisam et fatis contraria nostris/fata*] = Virgil, *Aen.* VII 293-294.

413-414 Centum variata figuris/Proditio flammis ferroque atroque veneno] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 133: *proditione, dolo, insidiis caecoque veneno*.

416-418 A reference to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Cf. *Loc.* 810-811 below; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 102-103. For a fuller neo-Latin treatment of the subject, cf. Thomas Campion, *Ad Thom.* (1595) (discussed in Introduction, pp. lxv-lxvi), especially lines 247-257; Theodore Beza, *Poemata Varia* (Geneva, 1599), 32: *Hispanum vasto nunc gurgite mergitur agmen*. Some contemporary engravings, representing God's thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot, placed it alongside a depiction of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Cf. STC 25043 *BM Catalogue of Satires* 41: *Deo trin-uni Britanniae his ultori in memoriam classis invincibilis subversae submersae prodictionis nefandae detectae disiectae*/ "To God in memorye of his double deliveraunce from y invincible Navie and y unmatcheable powder Treason." For the engraving and a description of the same, cf. A.M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1955), II, p. 393. Cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials II*, p. 224: "But the queen with her own ships, and her own subjects, did beat this Armada, God himself (whose cause indeed it was) fighting for us against them, by fire, and seas, and winds, and rocks and tempests, scattering all and destroying most of them."

417-418 Cf. James Johnson, *Eliza sive de Laudibus Augustissimae et Serenissimae Principis Elizabethae* (London, 1619), p. 4, lines 10-12 (again of the reaction of the nymphs to the fleet of the Spanish Armada): *Et iam caeruleis virides Nereides antris/fatales sensere trabes, gemi-*

tumque dedere/attonita per stagna deae. For a classical parallel, cf. Catullus LXIV 1-2: *peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus/dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas*; for the amazement caused by a ship, cf. the Nereids' reaction to the Argo in Catullus LXIV 12-15: *quae simul ac rostro ventosum proscidit aequor/tortaque remigio spumis incanduit unda,/emersere freti candenti e gurgite vultus/aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes.* Cf. Apolly. IV 13.1-3: "That fleet .../Which all the earth, which all the sea admires,/Amaz'd to see on waves a Moone of wood."

419-421 Cf. James Johnson, *Eliza*, p. 4, 24-28 — p. 5, 1-9.

423-424 *illa dies qua sidus Elisae/occidit*] For Elizabeth as a star, and for the ultimate setting of that star, cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II, p. 227: "But queen Elizabeth of famous memory (for *Memoria eius semper erit in benedictione*) as a bright morning-star, in fulness of time lost her natural light." Cf. Adolphus van Dans, *Hymnus ad Divam Elisabetham Angliae Regem* (1619) G4^r: *regale sidus, iam relicto corpore,/compage carnis, tendis ad rutilum polum/divumque sedes*; Fletcher, *Silva Poetica* (from *Threno-Thriambeuticon*): p. 351, lines 1-4: *Quae, sicut rutilis Cynthia curribus,/lucebat solio splendida patrio,/sub leto (hei mihi leto/fas tantum scelus est?) iacet.*

428 *gelida consurgens Phoebus ab Arcto*] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VI 16: *gelidas enavit ad Arctos*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 1: *extrema ab Arcto*. For James as a second Apollo, cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 5-6 in which the phrase *sedebat in solio* (used of James) echoes Ovid's description of Phoebus in his palace at *Met.* II 23-24. Douglas Bush, *Variorum*, p. 173 (note *ad loc*) rightly asks: "Was Milton merely borrowing a phrase or paying indirect homage to the royal Apollo?"

431-432 *lora manu laxans trahitur captiva catenis/Barbaries*] Compare the expulsion of Barbarity at Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 56-57: *errorumque illic tenebris omnique remota/barbarie*. For a list of personified captives in a triumphal procession, cf. Ovid, *Amores* I 2. 30-32.

432 *Bellona flagello*] A Virgilian line-ending: cf. *Aen.* VIII 703.

433-434 *iunctum uno foedere triplex/imperium*] For an allusion to the threefold kingdom of Britain, France and Ireland achieved by James, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 6-8: *cui unitis coniuncta Britannia sceptris,/Francia, lerna subest, et iustis paret habenis/sparsa Caledonio quaecunque est insula ponto*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 1-4: *Iam pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto/Teucrigenas populos lateque patentia regna/Albionum tenuit, iamque inviolabile foedus/sceptra Caledoniis coniunxerat Anglica Sco-*

tis. Cf. MacKellar's note *ad loc* p. 259: "By *foedus*, commonly a political agreement, treaty or compact, Milton can mean only a dynastic union; for, although James I soon after his accession in 1603 attempted to unite Scotland and England, the two nations remained politically independent until 1707." Cf. John Barclay, *Poematum Libri Duo* (London 1615), p. 101: *Britannia antea in Angliam et Scotiam divisa, nunc sub uno Augustissimi Regis Iacobi imperio composita*; Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 132: *iamque uno triplicem pervertere flamine gentem*.

435 impositum Luctantis ab omine nomen] A punning reference to Luther. Cf. *Apolly.* IV 10; Herring, *P.P.* 42: *Lutheri ex dogmate*.

436-438 James's son Henry Frederick, prince of Wales, who was to die in 1612. For Cambridge and Oxford poems on his death, published under the titles *Epicedium Catabrigiense in Obitum Henrici Principis Walliae* (Cambridge, 1612); *Iusta Oxoniensium* (London, 1612), see Introduction, pp. lviii-lx.

437-441 For praise of prince Henry, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 151-152, 154-155; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 291-293.

439-441 For youthful delight in horses, cf. Ascanius in Virgil, *Aen.* IV 156-157, and the description of the *lusus Troiae* at *Aen.* V 553-574.

439 spumantiaque ora] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* XII 372-373: *spumantia frenis/æa citatorum dextra detorsit equorum*.

441 et teneris hastam iam nunc iactare lacertis] Cf. Fletcher's dedicatory poem to the young prince Henry in the Dobell MS, line 6: *sive libet iaculo contendere*. See Appendix I below.

442-446 James's son, prince Charles, the future king. (Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 294-295). His name is seen as recalling Charles V, the Hapsburg Emperor (1519-1558) and head of the Holy Roman Empire. He ruled over Sardinia, Naples and Sicily.

445 letali ... vulnere] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 281.

446 certamque videt moribunda ruinam] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 285 *certasque ruinas*.

447-452 James's daughter Elizabeth, who was to become wife of the elector palatine, Frederick V.

447 inferior sexu] Cf. Milton, *PL* IX 821-825.

453 praesaga mali mens] This phrase echoes Mezentius's intimation of the death of his son Lausus in Virgil, *Aen.* X 843: *agnovit longe gemitum praesaga mali mens*.

457-464 These lines, conveying the artifice of the Catholic church, seem to invert Virgil, *Georg.* II 458ff. — the famous *O fortunatos nim-*

ium passage proclaiming the unadorned simplicity of rustic life. The exclamatory *Hei mihi* (457) is the antithesis of the Virgilian pronouncement (458); the reference to wool dyed in purple inverts *Georg.* II 465 where the absence of dye is regarded as a blessing (see next note); similarly the account of garments trimmed in gold (460-461) inverts *nec ...Jinlusasque auro vestes* (*Georg.* II 464).

459 quam lana Assyrio pingit fucata veneno] Fletcher echoes Virgil, *Georg.* II 465: *Assyrio fucatur lana veneno*. Cf. *Ecl.* IV 42: *nec varios discet mentiri lana colores*. Here the absence of dye mirrors the absence of decadence, and represents the innocence and lack of artifice of the Golden Age. Cf. Horace *Odes* III 5. 27-28: *neque amissos colores/lana refert medicata fuco*. Cf. also Lucretius, V 1423; Tibullus II 4.28.

465-476 The reaction of the audience to the pope's speech. There is a stunned silence. Then anger and resentment build up. Finally as emotions are intensified, a leading Jesuit rises to make a speech. Aequivocus supplies him with words, and guides him as he speaks.

465-466 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 16.1-2: "So said, and ceas'd: while all the Priestly Round/In sullen griefe, and stupide silence sat."

468 For the combined detrimental effects of *dolor* and *ira*, cf. Ovid, *Met.* XII 532: *dolor addidit iram*; *Ibis* XVI 86: *et peragent partes ira dolorque suas!*

468-469 iras .../aggerat] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* IV 197; XI 342.

474-475 The silent expectation of these lines echoes Virgil, *Aen.* II 1: *Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant*; VIII 520 *defixique ora tenebant*.

475-476 Verba Aequivocus versuta loquenti/suggestit et cordi custos orique residit] Unlike preceding epic poets on the Gunpowder Plot, Fletcher does not implement the explicit device of a demon transforming himself into a Jesuit or a Franciscan. Contrast Herring, *P.P.* 61-63; Wallace, *Reg.Lib.* 157-163; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 78-79. (Note also the device in the description of the Paradise of Fools at *PL* III 478-480: "And they who to be sure of Paradise/Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,/Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised.")

477-555 Speech of the leading Jesuit: the Jesuit assures the pope that he has good grounds for concern. They must see to the preser-

vation of Rome. Recommending guile and opportunism, he urges that they use female guile to bring about their aims. Women are adept at enticing. They have a fitting opportunity. He suggests ways of helping their causes in Spain and France. But this is only a prologue to the tragedy that is to ensue. He is contemplating a crime which will surpass all others and which will clear the way for the rise of Rome to power. This is no ordinary crime. Instead he aims to remove the king of England and his lords and noblemen in one blow.

477-480 For an account of the rapid decline in the power of the papacy, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 185-189: *Huic grave (pro dolor!) excidium fortunaque praeceptis/opposito incumbit regis terrore Britannique vestrae nuper successit gentis habenis./Nec nostrae requies fidei aut statio ulla patebit/quacumque illius porrecta potentia sceptri*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 94-96: *dum cathedram venerande tuam, diademaque triplex/ridet Hyperboreo gens barbara nata sub axe,/dumque pharetrati spernunt tua iura Britannii.*

478-479 iam parva caduco/spes superest regno] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 55: *in te spes sola est*; Apolly. IV 18.4-5: "The Lateran Church, with age it stoopes, and noddeth:/Nor have we cause to rest, or time to plaine."

479 neque te sententia fallit] This echoes the words of Jupiter to Juno in Virgil, *Aen.* X 608.

480 moenia praecipitem spondent sublapsa ruinam] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 219: *tota domus subitam trahat alta a sede ruinam*. For a discussion of the *ruina* which would have been caused by the explosion, cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 987: "Secondly, *erueret*, the compound is, from *ruere* (the simple) that is, from a ruine. Not as if we should have fallen into the pit, but that, there was there bestowed within it, that which would have sent us up, that downe we should have come, have fallen downe, all to peeces. *Ruina* it would have beene, and therefore *eruti*, right." Cf. also Alexander Gill, the younger, *In Ruinam Camerae Papisticae*. Gill, treating of the death of 95 Catholics in a chapel at Blackfriars as a result of a roof collapsing upon them on October 23, 1623, links the *ruina* with the Gunpowder Plot by seeing it as divine punishment. See Introduction, pp. lxvi-lxviii above. Cf. Thomas Goad, *The Dolefull Even-Song* (London 1623) B1^r: "*Octob. 26 stilo veteri; Novemb. 5 stilo novo*", and his comment at B3^r: "which day now fell

upon the fifth of November by the Gregorian Kalender, current ten daies before ours, and accompted by the Romanists the onely true Computation. Whereupon some go so farre as to make a numerall inference of a second reflecting Tragedy. But, for my part, I surrender all such iudicarie calculation into the hands of the Highest, who according to his providence disposeth of times and seasons, and of all events befalling in them." Although Goad suspends judgement, it is noteworthy that at K1^v when listing those who died in the accident, he is careful to refer to a certain Katharine Pindar as "a Gentlewoman in Mrs Udals house in gunpowder alley." Cf. Samuel Clarke, *England's Remembrancer* (London, 1657), p. 98: "Shall *Herod* whilst he is priding himself in the flattering applause of the people, be eaten of worms? Shall *Haman*, whilst he is practicing to destroy all the people of God, be hanged on a gallows fifty foot high which he had prepared for *Mordecai*? Shall the house where the *Philistines* met together to sport with *Sampson*, fall upon their heads? Shall these and such like judgments overtake men in the very act of their sin, and yet be accounted no judgements, no evidences of Gods revenging justice, or signes of his indignation? truly then we may deny all providence, and attribute all to chance: But add hereto, that this fel out upon their fifth of *November*, and it will be as clear as if written with a Sun-beam, that the pit which they digged for others, they themselves fell into it." Contemporary engravings juxtaposed the two events, e.g. Samuel Clarke, *Englands Remembrancer, Containing a True and Full Narrative of those Two Never to be Forgotten Deliverances: The One from the Spanish Invasion in Eighty Eight: The Other from the Hellish Powder Plot: November 5. 1605. Whereunto is Added the Like Narrative of that Signal Judgement of God upon the Papists, by the Fall of the House in Black-Friers London, upon their Fifth of November, 1623* (London, 1657). For a detailed discussion of the Blackfriars accident and examples of its iconographical representation, see Alexandra Walsham, "The *Fatall Vesper*: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London", *P & P* 144 (1994), 36-87. See in particular pp. 66-74 for the linking of the two events (and indeed the Spanish Armada). Walsham points out similarities (e.g. the *digitus Dei*) between an anonymous engraving *No Plot No Powder 1623* (BM, *Satires* 95) depicting the accident and two other visual representations: one of the Gunpowder Plot: *A Plot With Powder 1605* (BM, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, "English History, 1605-1606"), and another, depicting the plotting of the Spanish Armada: *A Plot Without Powder* (BM *Satires* 87). She argues convinc-

ingly that the 1623 engraving “formed ... the third panel in a polemical triptych. In view of their unmistakable stylistic affinities and compositional symmetry, there can be little doubt that the three were originally issued as a series and designed to be contemplated in succession and side by side” (pp. 67-68).

487-491 Cf. *Apolly*. IV 19.1-3: “When captaines strive a fort or towne to winne,/They lay their batt’ry to the weakest side;/Not where the wall, and guard stands thicke, but thinne.”

487 rescindere vallum] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* IX 524.

490 tenui muros cinxere corona] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* X 122: *rara muros cinxere corona*.

492-493 Cf. *Apolly*. IV 21.7-9: “then to comply/With that weake sexe, and by fine forgerie/To worme in womens hearts, chiefly the rich and high.”

494 in tenui labor at lucrum non tenue sequetur] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* IV 6: *in tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria*. Fletcher’s adaptation of Virgil at this point is ironic in view of the fact that he is discussing the sexual advances and wiles of women. Virgil, by contrast, is treating of bees, who are specifically depicted at 197-199 as not indulging in sex: *illum adeo placuisse mirabere morem,/quod neque concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes/in Venerem solvunt aut fetus nixibus edunt*.

495-500 For a similar description of the wiles of women, cf. *Apolly*. IV 22.4-9: “for women sooner drinke our lore,/Men sooner sippe it from their lippes, then ours:/Sweetly they learne, and sweetly teach: with store?/Of teares, smiles, kisses, and ten thousand arts/They lay close batt’ry to mens frayler parts:/So finely steale themselves, and us into their hearts.”

496 gremio ... virili/infusa] A skilful role reversal of Vulcan and Venus in Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 406: *coniugis infusus gremio*. But see next note.

496-498 These lines closely echo Venus’s seduction of Vulcan at *Aen.* VIII 387-388: *dixerat et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis/cunctantem amplexu molli fovet*.

501-506 Cf. *Apolly*. IV 23.1-5: “That strongest Champion, who with naked hands/A Lyon tore, who all unarm’d and bound/Heap’t mounts of armed foes on bloody sands;/By womans art, without or force or wound/Subdu’d, now in a mill blind grinding stands.” Cf. Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 126-131: “whom unarm’d/No strength of man, or

fiercest wild beast could withstand;/who tore the Lion, as the Lion tears the kid,/And weaponless himself,/Made arms ridiculous."

504-505 Cf. Milton, *PL* IX 1059-1062: "So rose the Danite strong/Herculean Samson from the harlot-lap/Of Philistean Delilah, and wak'd/Shorn of his strength." For the politicization of Samson, cf. Michael Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence* (Cornell University Press 1994), pp. 226-263. Cf. also his *The Sinews of Ulysses: Form and Convention in Milton's Works* (Pittsburgh 1989) pp. 98-138. Fletcher's interest in the body is evident in *The Purple Island* in which the body functions as an analogy for the Isle of Man.

509 technis subeundus et arte domandus] Cf. 96 above and Herring, *P.P.* 52-53: *res nostrae assidue nutantes quaerere cogunt/consilia atque novas Plutonis tradere technas.*

510-513 Cf. *Apolly*. IV 24.7-9: "there dwell/Arminians, who from heaven halfe way fell:/A doubtfull sect, which hang 'tween truth, lies, heaven and hell."

519-20 Parisios vobis facile succidere flores/(liliaque Hispano dabimus calcanda leoni)] Cf. *Apolly*. IV 26.1: "The flowres of Fraunce, those faire delicious flowres."; Jeremy Taylor, *A Sermon Preached in Saint Maries Church of Oxford* (Oxford, 1638), p. 31: "It is not for nothing that the Church of France protests against some of their received Canons; if they did not I know not what would become of their Princes. Their Lillies may be to day, and to morrow be cast into the oven, if the Pope either call their Prince Huguenot, as he did Henry the fourth, or Tyrant as Henry the third." For the phrase *succidere flores*, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* IX 435: *purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro.*

521-522 Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 149-150.

523 Cf. *Apolly*. IV 26.2: "Which late are imp't in stemme of proud Navar."

525-527 Cf. *Apolly*. IV 28.1-3: "This be our taske: the aged truncke wee'l lop,/And force the sprigges forget their former kind:/Wee'l graft the tender twigges on Spanish top."

532 Hic tragicæ prologus scenæ] Cf. *Apolly*. IV 29.1: "All this a Prologue to our Tragedy." For the plot as a tragedy, cf. *Loc.* 696 below: *Dumque opus effingit tragicum facinusque rexit;* Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie*, p. 1, 6: "Lest posts and stones sound out my tragique song"; *ibid.*, p. 63, 31-32: "By this first Scene we easily may ghesse/The greevous progresse of this Tragedy"; *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II, p. 341: "some chief actor in this tragedy".

541-542 per fas, pater optime, nobis/perque nefas tentanda via est] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 57-58: *regnumque rebelle per fas perque nefas ad nostra reducito sceptrum*. Cf. Apolly. IV 29.8-9: "Nor care I whether right, wrong, good, or ill:/Church-profit is our law, our onely rule thy will."

546 For the dismissal of poisoning and stabbing as a means of killing the king, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 138-141.

547-548 Cf. Apolly. IV 30.5: "To kill a King is stale, and I disdaine."

548-549 Certissimus ultor/et sceptris odiisque puer succedet avitis] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 151-153: *Si regem e medio tollamus, nobilis haeres/Henricus regno potietur, sanguinis acer/(credere sic par est) ultor vindexque paterni*.

550-552 For the envisaged destruction of so many in one blow, cf. King James, *Premonition*, discussed in Introduction, pp. xxv-xxix; *Iusta Oxoniensium* (London 1612), A2^r: *et regem et sobolem, proceres, patriam atque penates/coniicit in cineres*.

551-552 Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 178-179.

552 uno truncabimus ictu] Cf. *The Trials of Robert Winter etc., State Trials* II, p. 160: "traitorously amongst themselves did conclude and agree, with Gunpowder, as it were *with one blast*, suddenly, traitorously and barbarously to blow up and tear in pieces our said sovereign lord the king, the excellent, virtuous, and gracious queen Anne, his dearest wife etc." Italics are mine.

553-555 Cf. Apolly. IV 30.7-9: "Kings, Nobles, Clergy, Commons high and low,/The Flowre of England in one houre I'le mow,/And head all th'Isle with one unseen, unfenced blow."

554 flagitio, pater, una uno dabit hora Britannos] Cf. George Goodwin, *Melissa* (London, 1620), *Elegia* IX P3^r, line 10: *omnes hausisset funditus una dies*.

555 Qua facere id possim, paucis (adverte) docebo] The phrase *paucis, adverte, docebo* constitutes a Virgilian formula which occurs three times in the *Aeneid*: 1) as Juno addresses Venus and plots the union of Dido and Aeneas (*Aen.* IV 115-116); 2) as the Tiber god addresses Aeneas and his men (*Aen.* VIII 49-50); 3) as king Latinus speaks (*Aen.* XI 314-315).

556-583 Speech of the leading Jesuit: the gunpowder plot outlined. The Jesuit draws the audience's attention to the existence of the Houses of Parliament and the customary opening which the king,

royal family, lords and noblemen attend. There lies a cellar underground which he aims to fill with barrels of gunpowder. It will give him great pleasure to see them killed in the very place in which they promulgated evil laws, and to behold their laws and their limbs scattered through the air.

556-563 For a description of the Houses of Parliament, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 168: *Est antiqua domus proprio vicina cubili*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 202-206: *Tectum augustum, ingens, gradibus cui limina multis/magnifica exsurgunt altis suffulta columnis/urbis ad occiduas Londini panditur aedes,/sacri ubi concilii sedes, ubi curia regni/perpetuisque patres soliti considerare mensis.*

556-563 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 31.

558-559 Cf. Fletcher, *Nisa Ecloga*, in his *Silva Poetica*, p. 331, lines 9-11: *Hic nobis Thamo generatus et Iside Nympha/Thamisis ingenti Ludduni moenia fluctu/alluit.*

564-565 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 32.1-3: "Here all the States in full assembly meet,/And every order rank't in fit array,/Cloth'd with rich robes fill up the crowded street."

565 et procures terrae et patres plebesque Britannae] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 209: *imperii procures omnes sanctusque senatus*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 117-118: *patricos vocat, et procerum de stirpe creatos,/grandaevosque patres.*

568-569 Hic lapsos revocant mores, Romaeque cruentas/imponunt leges et poenas sanguine poscunt.] Cf. *Apolly.* IV 33.1-6: "There in Astrea's ballaunce doe they weigh/ The right and wrong, reward and punishment;/ And rigour with soft equitie allay,/Curbe lawles lust, and stablish government;/There Rome it selfe, and us they dare affray/With bloody lawes, and threatnings violent." For the phrase *poenas sanguine poscunt*, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* II 72: *Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt.*

570-573 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 34.1-5: "But Cellars large, and cavernes vaulted deep/With bending arches borne, and columnes strong/Under that stately building slyly creep:/Here Bacchus lyes, conceal'd from Juno's wrong,/ Whom those cold vaults from hot-breath'd ayers keep."

570 latebrae ... caecae] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* III 232.

572-581 For the explicit reference to planting gunpowder beneath the house, and the destruction that would ensue, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 177-179: *Aedibus hic facile est furiosas subdere flammas/atque perorantem regem*

procresque silentes/turbine sulphureo sublimes mittere in auras; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 225-231: *Viribus hanc summis totam tacitoque labore,/ pulvere sulphureo, saxis ferroque replete./His igni accensis simul atque subiverit altam/ordinibus regni princeps comitantibus aulam,/sternantur subito lacerata e sedibus imis/magnae fundamenta domus, cunctosque superne/ vi rapida secum tollant verrantque per auras*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 119-121: *Hos tu membratim poteris conspergere in auras,/atque dare in cineres, nitrati pulveris igne/aedibus iniecto, qua convenere, sub imis.*

573 Stygio ... pulvere] Cf. Anonymous, *In Homines Nefarios*, p. 4. 14: *tartareo ... pulvere*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 161.

576-580 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 36.1-2: "Oh how my dauncing heart leaps in my breast/But to fore-thinke that noble tragedie!"; *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials II*, p. 342: "The purpose of these gallants *qui pas-cuntur scelere* was to feast their eyes with the sight of our dead carcasses; for since there were no doves, but ravens, the less wonder that they did *sequi cadavera*". For the appropriateness that the scene of the carnage be the very house which had promulgated anti-Catholic laws, cf. *The True Copy of the Deposition of Guido Fawkes, State Trials II*, p. 202: "which place we made choice of, the rather, because, religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittist that justice and punishment should be executed there."

578-579 semusta virorum/membra] Cf. *Apolly.* IV 36.7: "There goes the heart, there th' head, there sindged bones." Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 119: *Hos tu membratim poteris conspergere in auras.* For the adverb *membratim*, cf. *In Homines Nefarios*, p. 18, line 16: *membratim corpora sectos*. For a study of dismemberment in Milton, cf. Michael Lieb, *Violence*, especially p. 16: "bodily mutilation is fundamental to the Miltonic point of view." Lieb discusses the theme as manifested by Milton's prose and poetry, and argues for the emergence of a "sparagmatic mentality". Suprisingly however he does not discuss Milton's gunpowder poems in this context.

580-581 caeli/...spatia] Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* III 105.

581-582 Ast alto se gurgite praeceps/Thamisis abscondet] Fletcher's description of the Thames burying its head in response to the evils of man recalls perhaps in a general sense Horace's depiction of the Tiber flowing backwards at *Odes I* 2.13-16: *vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis/litore Etrusco violenter undis/ire deiectum monumenta regis/templaque Vestae*. Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 155: *Tamesis revolutis torpuit undis*. Horace's lines are inverted by Milton at *Ad Salsillum* 36-

41: *Tumidus et ipse Tiberis hinc delinitus/spei favebit annuae colonorum,/nec in sepulchris ibit obsessum reges/nimium sinistro laxis irruens loro,/sed frena melius temperabit undarum,/ad usque curvi salsa regna Portumni.*

583 trepidi fugient immisso lumine manes] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 246: *trepident immisso lumine Manes* — a simile of the exposure of Cacus. This is ironic in view of the later analogy between Cacus and Fawkes at 767-769. See note *ad loc.*

584-600 *The reaction of the audience to the Jesuit's speech. All applaud. The pope himself praises the plot and thanks God for preserving such brave men in Rome. He promises the Jesuit a golden statue in his honour, a church dedicated in his name and constant veneration.*

584 Dixerat. Applaudunt omnes] Cf. the reaction to a demon's speech in Herring, *P.P.* 180-181: *Haec ubi dicta tacet. Magnis applausibus illi/collaudant facinus*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 145: *Dixit et applausu dicta exceperet*. Cf. also Wright's reaction to Catesby's delineation of the plot at Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 234-235: *his liquido acclamat dictis Virtus, et effert/laudibus auctorem.*

584-591 These lines echo the response of Aletes to the ill-starred plan volunteered by Nisus and Euryalus in Virgil, *Aen.* IX 247-250: "*Di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est,/non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,/cum tales animos iuvenum et tam certa tulistis/pectora*". This would seem to complete the analogy (suggested by earlier verbal links) between Satan and Nisus; Aequivocus and Euryalus; the pope and Aletes. For the favourable reception and the applause which the gunpowder plot received, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 180-182 (Catesby and others) quoted in previous note; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 246-249 (Fawkes): *Dixit et ardentis stimulos sub pectore fixit./Ille animi victus: "Sequimur, sanctissime frater,/quo nos cumque vocas, nec tantae nomine causae/mille subire neces et mille pericla veremur."*

587-91 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 38.

592ff. Cf. *Apolly.* IV 39.1-6: "What meed (my Sonne) can Christ, or he above,/Or I beneath, to thy deservings weigh?/What heaven can recompence thy pious love?/In Lateran Church thy statue crown'd with bay/In gold shall mounted stand next highest Jove:/To thee wee'l humbly kneele, and vowe, and pray."

592-593 Cf. Aletes in Virgil, *Aen.* IX 252-253: *quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis/praemia posse rear solvi?* Fletcher develops Virgil's list of lavish gifts (embossed silver cups, bowls, shield, captive women) to include a statue, marble, and veneration after death.

596 pia tura] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 223.

598-600 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 39.7-9: "Haile Romes great Patron, ease our restless cares,/Possesse thy heaven, and prosper our affayres,/Even now inure thine eare to our religious prayers."

599-600 caelo assuesci .../ingreditor] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* I 42 (addressed to Maecenas): *ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.*

599 incipe] For the imperative, cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* IV 60; 62: *Incipe, parve puer.*

600 manibus ... supinis] For the Roman method of praying with upturned palms, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* I 93; III 176-177; IV 205.

601-605 Aequivocus returns to hell and informs its inhabitants of the exceptional wickedness of the plot.

601-605 Cf. *Apolly.* IV 40.3-6: "Equivocus with heart, and pinions light/Downe posting to th'Infernall shadowes flies;/Fills them with joyes, such joyes as Sonnes of night/Enjoy, such as from sinne and mischiefe rise."

603-605 Cf. *In Homines Nefarios*, p. 3. 20-22: *At fas est odisse viros, facinusque nefandum/immane, horrendum, quo non crudelius unquam/ulla tulit tellus.*

604-605 Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 8 (of Satan): *Eumenidum pater.*

606-616 The Jesuit chooses and recruits accomplices: Fawkes, Winter, Digby, and Rookwood, and tells them of the plot.

606 sceleris ... nefandi] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 486-487.

606-609 Cf. *Apolly.* V 3.3-8: "such this Jesuite,/Who (Loiol's Ensigne) thirsts for English blood./He culls choice soules (soules vow'd to th'Prince of night./And Priest of Rome) swears them (an English brood,/But hatch't in Rome for Spaine) close to conceale,/And execute what he should then reveale."

610-613 For similar punning in Latin on the names of the conspirators, cf. Richard Williams, *Acclamatio Patriae* in his *A Poore Mans Pittance*, ed. F.J. Furnivall, *Ballads from Manuscripts*, II (London 1868),

pp. 24-31, 43-46: (puns on Catesby [cat], Digby [digging a pit], Winter [the season] cited in notes *ad loc* below); cf. also Herring, *P.P.* cited in subsequent notes. For similar wordplay, this time on Percy, cf. Gager, *Pyr.*, 596-598, who alludes to Thomas Percy's nickname "Pierce-Eye": *claroque insignis ocelli/nomine transfixi, vultum vertisset ab hoste/Percius armato*; Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie*, p. 24, 29-30: "Percy to pierce the eye of this our state,/Doth also promise hee'le associate." Fletcher was very partial to wordplay in both English and Latin. Cf., for example, the frontispiece to his *Piscatorie Eclogs and Other Poeticall Miscellanies* (Cambridge, 1633), which contains an anagram of Edward Benlowes as "Sunwarde beloved". Cf. also his punning on the name of his wife Elizabeth Vincent in *Sylva Poetica* (Grosart, I, p. xcvi):

Ana-Elisa Vincenta grammā

Ne laesa vincit

Vincenta quod sim victus victrix, placebat.

Quod ne laesa quidem vincit Elisa, dolet.

610 Hic dirum a facibus certo trahit omine nomen] Guido Fawkes. Cf. the pun on Fawkes/fax at 694-695 below: *nocte facem plumbo saep-tam taedamque latentem/veste tegens cellam Facius crimenque revisit*. Cf. Thomas Cooper, *Nonae Novembris: Praeludia ad Nonas: In Faux-ium Incendarium*, p. 2: *Conatus patriam sceleratis urere flammis,/quam bene deductum de face nomen habes*; and his ingenious inversion of the myth of Hecuba's dream that she would give birth to a firebrand: *In Eundem (2^o) Visa tulisse facem est utero Priameia coniunx/lascivum praegnans sed tulit illa Parin./At tua te mater gravida dum servet in alvo/visa tulisse hominem est, sed tulit illa facem*. See also similar punning on Fawkes's name in Herring, *P.P.* where Fawkes is alluded to throughout as *Falsus* (63, 113, 147, 202, 357, 373), and is called a second Proteus on account of the variety of aliases which he assumes: *P.P.* 63-65: *et Fawksi seu Falsi nomine notus/hic, alibi Ionston, Fosterus, Brunius — alter/Proteus in formas facile versatilis omnes*; cf. Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie*, p. 5, 31-36: "Whose name hee ever changeth with his place/Of residence, like Neptunes Proteus,/His name and shame equall in his disgrace,/Foster sometimes, Iohnson and Brunius,/His name not nature, habit not his hart,/Hee takes, forsakes, as best befits his part." Cf. Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 419-421: *Facius ... ipse ignotus, et alter/nomine iam longe mutata sorte minister/creditur esse tuus Perci*. See also Thomas Goad, *Cithara Octochorda Pectine Pulsata* (1605) *passim* where *Fawkes* is punned with *fallax*. Another clever play on the

name Fawkes — this time with both *fax* and *fauces* — occurs in James Johnson, *Schediasmata Poetica* (London 1615) B3^v: *Ad Papam de Coniuratione Pulverea 5^o Novembris 1605*, 7-8: *At nos incolumes servavit rector Olympila facibus Fauxi, faucibus atque lupi*. See Introduction, pp. xxiv-xxv.

611-612 ille hiemes referens magnos portenderat imbres/raptaque perpetua minitatur lumina nocte] Robert Winter. For similar punning, cf. Richard Williams, *Acclamatio Patriae* (ed. F.J. Furnivall), pp. 43-46 where Robert Winter is depicted as “destroying spring.”; John Vicars, *Mischiefes Myserie*, part II, p. 56 [misprinted as 54], 8-10: “Vile Robert Winter, Winter impudent,/In whom the very *Autumne* did appeare,/And fruitlesse *Wintr*’ of an impenitent.”

613 hic trahit a fossis] Sir Everard Digby, tried separately for treason on January 27 1606. Executed January 30 1606. For similar punning on the name Digby, cf. Richard Williams, *Acclamatio Patriae* (ed. F.J. Furnivall), pp. 24-31 where Digby “Digged a pitt, and hymn selfe fell in”, and the possible wordplay in Herring, *P.P.* 195-196: *fossore*s ... *alias educunt fossas*. Cf. the possible pun in Sir John Stradling, *Ad Nobiliss. Parlamenti Proceres etc. (Epigrammatum Libri Quattuor* (London 1607) K6^v): *Incidit in foveam quam foderat ante malignus*.

613 raucis hic nomina corvis] Ambrose Rookwood captured at Holbeach House. Executed January 30 1606.

617-652 The conspirators equip themselves with shuvels and commence digging. Suddenly they hear whispers and in terror they flee and hide. They discover that the voices are human, and that there is a cellar which runs underneath the very House. They hire the cellar and store the gunpowder there, camouflaging it with wood and iron. Anxiously and impatiently they await the arrival of dawn.

617-620 The digging of the mine was commenced on 11 December 1604. Cf. *The True Copy of the Deposition of Guido Fawkes*, *State Trials* II, p. 202: “Thomas Percy hired an house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoining to the parliament-house, and there we began to make our mine, about the 11th of December, 1604.”; Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain Being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (London, 1653), p. 29: “Percie was to hire the Cellars under the Parliament house, to lay wood and coal in, for his Winter-provision.” Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 195-197: *Fossore*s primo *Persi ex con-*

clavibus altis/educunt fossas, et subterranea longe/antra cavant nudantque loci fundamina sacri; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 257-259: *Inde manus addunt operi, tectisque sub alta/cuniculis terra positis radicitus omnem/eruere intendunt aedis circum undique molem*. Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 299-300: *Crescenti interea conducit Percius aedes/addictas sceleri*.

617 ruptae media inter viscera matris] Cf. *Apolly.* V 4.3-4: “The earth (their Grandame Earth) they fierce invade,/And all her bowels search, and rent, and teare.” Cf. Goodwin, *Melissa* P3, 2^r *Vipereos animans natos in viscera matris* (1); cf. Ovid, *Met.* I 38: *itum est in viscera terrae*. Ovid’s line refers to mankind during the iron age having recourse to digging for gold. This is seen as an evil. By implication then the conspirators are seen as belonging to the iron age (while James is restorer of a golden age) — a time of treachery and trickery. For the phrase *viscera matris*, cf. Ovid, *Met.* II 274.

618-619 duros, agrestia tela, ligones/convectant] Cf. *Apolly.* V 4.1-2: “this armed with a spade,/That with a mattocke.” Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 411-412: *accingunt operi se; tectos nocte ligones/rutraque transportant taciti per limina caeca*.

621-648 This develops in detail the accounts of the discovery of a cellar underlying the House. This came about by accident as the conspirators overheard noise next door. Cf. *The True Copy of the Deposition of Guido Fawkes, State Trials* II, p. 202-203: “As they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a cellar, of removing of coals; whereupon we feared we had been discovered”.

622 nescio quos multa visi sub nocte susurros] Cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 177: *excitat hic varios plebs agglomerata susurros*.

623 tenui incertas cum murmure voces] Cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 212: *ambiguas voces incertaque murmura spargit*.

624ff. Fletcher presents the occurrences in the cave as the terrors of an underworld (e.g. *vicinos ... manes Erebumque timentes* [624]; *umbris similes* [626]). Tisiphone is imagined to be present (630), while there is a reference to a *taeda ... Stygia* (636). This is developed at 640-641. See note *ad loc.*

630 Tisiphone] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VI 555-556: *Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta/vestibulum exsomnia servat noctesque diesque*.

631-632 Cf. *Apolly.* V 5. 2-5: “to th’earth another falling,/Creeping behind a barrell softly steales:/A third into an empty hogshead cralling,/Locks up his eyes, draws in his stragling heeles.”

640-641 Vox ore sepulta/deficit] Cf. the stunned silence of the shades of Greek warriors at the sight of Aeneas in the underworld in Virgil, *Aen.* VI 492-493: *pars tollere vocem/exiguam: inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis*. Cf. *Odyssey* XXIV 5 where ghosts can only squeak.

643 apparent rari] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* I 118: *apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*.

646-650 Cf. *Apolly.* V 7.5-8: "And list'ning now with better heed, they know/Those next adjoyning roomes hollow'd by art/To lie for cellerage: which glad they hire./And cramme with powder, and unkindled fire.

649 Conducunt nitrumque avide, sulphurque recondunt] For the hiring of the cellar, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 198-199: *Interea Perseus cellam magis usibus aptam/(cui suspensa domus) pretio conducit*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 224: *aulae suppositam cameram conducite magnae*; Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 535-536: *illam conducunt; illuc vim sulphuris omnem/ traiciunt*. The cellar was hired by Thomas Percy from a certain Mr Whynniard. Cf. Fawkes's confession, *State Trials* II, p. 203: "<Fawkes> finding that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly rent."

650 For the camouflaging of the gunpowder by billets and faggots, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 208-210: *regis substernit solio segmentaque ferrilimposuit, lignique strues superaddidit illis./Consimili obtexit reliqua omnia furcifer arte*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 266-268: *Hanc mercatorum simulantes nomen inane/saxorum cumulis, ferri lignique et acapnoe/sulphureique cadis sex senis pulveris implent.*; Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 537-538: *et super impositis lignis, carboneque multo,/aggestisque cadis zithi cellaria fingunt*; Gager, *Pyr.* 82-83: *Praevidere nefas aliae; videre ferentes/ fulmineosque cados et signa et saxa struentes*. Cf. *The Effect of the Indictment*, *State Trials* II, p. 163: "and the said several quantities of gunpowder aforesaid, with billets and faggots, lest they should be spied, secretly and traitorously did cover"; the indictment by the Attorney general, *State Trials* II, p. 179: "having crows of iron, stone and wood laid upon the barrels". Robert Winter's Confession 23 Nov. 1605, *State Trials* II, p. 208: "After this master Fawkes laid into the cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand billets and five hundred faggots, and with that covered the powder, because we might have the house free, to suffer anyone to enter that would". Cf. Nicholls, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

651-652 seniles/temporis increpitant gressus lucemque morantem] Cf. *Apolly.* V 7.9: "Slacke aged Time with plaints and praieres they daily tire."

653-660 *Authorial intervention denouncing the unparalleled barbarity of the plot and of a crime that should not fade from human memory.*

653-654 Sed quid ego nullo effandum, ... / ... flagitium repeto?]

For the unspeakable nature of the crime, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 142: *Horresco referens totus: vox faucibus haeret*; 336-337; cf. G. Goodwin, *Elegia IX*, P2^o, line 7: *horresco referens, tremulis vox faucibus haeret*; Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie* (*Epistle Dedicatory to St John Lemmon Knight* etc): "... for my part I cannot but *horrescere referens*, even tremble at the relation thereof."; Sir John Stradling, (*Epigrammatum Libri Quattuor* [London, 1607]), *Ad nobillissimum ... Monteglum*, 1-2: *In tenebris opus infandum filii tenebrarum/dum peragunt*; Milton, *Ep.* I 2: *ausus es infandum perfide Fauxe nefas*; the Indictment by the Attorney General, 1606 (Sir Edward Coke) *State Trials* II, p. 176: "*Horret animus*, I tremble even to think of it: Miserable desolation! no king, no queen, no prince, no issue male, no counsellors of state, no nobility, no bishops, no judges", and statement of Sir John Coke in *The Trial of Henry Garnet*, 28 March 1606, *State Trials* II, p. 218-219: "The manner how to perform these horrible Treasons, the Serjeant said "*Horreo dicere*", his lips did tremble to speak it". Cf. also Gager, *Pyr.* 164-166: *Non mihi si linguas centum, totidem Deus ora/fingeret, et saxo vocem ferroque rigentem,/infandi sceleris percurrere singula possim* (echoing Virgil, *Georg.* II 43; *Aen.* VI 625). Cf. Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie*, p. 61, 1-6. In 1620 James Ussher stated that the plot "exceeded all measure of cruelty; as involving not the king alone, but also his children and the states of the kingdom, and many thousands of innocent people" ("A Sermon Preached Before the Commons House of Parliament, in St Margaret's Church, at Westminster, the 18th of February, 1620, First Printed in 1621" in *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D.* (Dublin, 1847), II, p. 455).

653-654 nulloque tacendum/tempore flagitium] Cf. *State Trials* II, p. 167: "And therefore hold not thy tongue, O God, keep not still silence, refrain not thyself, O God"; Goodwin, *Melissa* Q1^r: *quod factum taceat nulla futura dies* (4).

656-657 At frustra celabo tamen quod terra stupescit,/quod superi exhorrent] Cf. *In Homines Nefarios*, p. 3, 18-19: *At non et voces etiam cohibere necesse est/(Quae si obmutescant, saxa ipsa trabesque loquuntur).*

658-659 Incisum marmore crimen/vivet in aeternum] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 4-5: *barbaricum facinus quo Phoebus atrocius unquam/nil vidit, Pario describi marmore dignum*. The envisaged commemoration of the deed by a marble inscription is developed by Gager through his symbol of the pyramid: cf. *Pyr.* 2-6: *quippe columna tibi iam staret, Quinte Novembris./ aerea Londini, perque oppida maxima saltem/saxea, sublimis, signataque carmine tali:/ “Anglia me posuit Quinto servata Novembris”*; cf. 39-40: *Pyramis ista tamen, Quinto sacrata Novembris./ (saltem animo defixa meo) chartacea stabit*; 295-298: *Digna etenim res est, quae commemoretur, et ore/Anglorum semper grato linguisque teratur;/ aureolis signanda notis in marmore duro, auleis texenda altis pingenda tabellis*. For a discussion of this device, see Introduction, pp. lvii-lviii.

661-701 *The long-awaited day arrives. The king, royal family and lords and noblemen enter parliament amidst applause and shouting. Meanwhile Fawkes lurks in the cellar waiting in hope and fear, and encouraged in heart by Aequivocus.*

661 Iamque optata dies aderat] Contrast Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 279: *Iamque dies infanda aderat*.

662 conveniunt magno proceresque patresque senatu] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 209: *imperii proceres omnes sanctusque senatus*.

663 Ipse sacris princeps devinctus tempora gemmis] Cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 1000: “... in His robes royall, the Imperial crowne on His head ...”

663-682 For the listing of those who would have perished in the explosion, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 218-222; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 279-305; Gager, *Pyr.* 272-275; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 116-118. Cf. *The Effect of the Indictment in The Trials of Robert Winter etc. 27 January 1606, State Trials II*, p. 160-61: “as it were with one blast, suddenly, traitorously and barbarously to blow up and tear in pieces our said sovereign lord the king, the excellent, virtuous, and gracious queen Anne, his dearest wife, the most noble prince Henry, their eldest son, and future hope and joy of England; and the lords spiritual and temporal, the reverend judges of the realm, the knights, citizens and burgesses of parliament, and divers other faithful subjects and servants of the king in the said parliament”; cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, ibid.*, II, p. 236: “Then the whole royal issue, the council, the nobility, the clergy, nay our religion itself and especially

this city of London, that is famous for her riches, more famous for her people..."; Jeremy Taylor, *A Sermon Preached in Saint Maries Church of Oxford* (Oxford, 1638), p. 63: "For had this accursed Treason prosper'd, we should have had the whole Kingdome mourne for the inestimable losse of its chiefest glory, its life, its present joy, and all its very hopes for the future."

664 phalerato insignis equo] Cf. Liv. XXX 17.13. Cf. also Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 635: *Insignes et equis phaleratis agmine longo*.

666-667 Princeps/proximus incedit facie vultuque sereno] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 288: *maiestate nitens vultusque decore sereni*.

670 placidoque refulgens Carolus ore] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 294-295: *pulchri puer inclitus oris/Carolus*

674-675 The description of the young Elizabeth echoes that of the blushing Lavinia in Virgil, *Aen.* XII 64-66: *accepit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris/ flagrantes perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem/subiecit rubor at calefacta per ossa cucurrit*.

677 Cf. Elizabeth I as Cynthia at 423-424 n. above.

679 gemmisque insignes] Cf. *In Homines Nefarios*, p. 11, 9: *insignes gemma vestes auroque gerentes*.

679 murice fulgent] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* IX 614: *vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis*.

681 Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* II 313: *exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum*; XI 192.

682-683 ferit ardua clamor/sidera] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* II 488: *ferit aurea sidera clamor*. Fletcher echoes the screaming of Priam's household as Pyrrhus and his armed men come bursting in. This is a proleptic irony: the destruction of a king and his household anticipating the envisaged slaughter of king James and the destruction of his *domus* — parliament.

684-686 For the description of Night goading on her horses, cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 69-70: *Nox senis amplexus Erebi taciturna reliquit,/praecipitesque impellit equos stimulante flagello*.

688ff. nullum aequale videt, Thracesque Getasque cruentos ...] Cf. *State Trials* II, p. 176: "O barbarous, and more than Scythian or Thracian cruelty!"

693 Manibus et sceleri nox apta] For the association of the conspirators and the plot with the darkness of night, cf. Cooper, *Nonae Novembris*, p. 19: *Agnoscamus igitur scelus quod lumen refugit et sceleratam religionem quae tenebris gaudet*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 139: *est locus aeterna*

septus caligine noctis; Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 952: "... for, they want not some glistening pretences, as it were a false light, cast on the plot. But, goe to the bottome of it, and there it is *Caligo tenebrarum*, the very dungeon of darknesse: and, well, so; as being wrought in a darke cellar, under ground, by the sonnes of Erebus, in the skirts of Erebus itselfe"; *ibid.*, p. 954: "In darkness they delighted (darke vaults, darke cellars) and darknesse fell upon them for it. And when they were out of their darke vault, found themselves in a darke prison; which they little thought ever to have come in". The "darkness" of the conspirators is contrasted with the "light" of God by Arthur Wilson in his *The History of Great Britain*, (London, 1653), p. 28: "six and thirty Barrels of Gun-powder, which those dark Contrivers had hid in a Cellar under the Parliament House, being discovered by a light from Heaven." Cf. also John Howe, *A Sermon Preached on the Fifth of November, 1703*: "For what darkness, but that of hell, could have so much fire in it? So much of destructive rage and fury?" (*The Works of the Rev. John Howe* (London 1863) V 419.

694-695 facem .../... Facius] An obvious pun on Fawkes. See 610 above.

694-695 taedamque latentem/veste tegens] Possibly an ironic inversion of the Sibyl's revelation of the golden bough concealed in her clothing at Virgil, *Aen.* VI 406: *aperit ramum qui veste latebat*.

696 facinusque retexit] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* I 356: *scelus omne retexit*.

702-706 God casts his glance down from heaven and observes the crime in store.

702-706 Cf. *Apolly.* V 11.1-6: "Meane time the Eye, which needs no light to see,/That wakefull Eye, which never winks or sleepes,/That purest Eye, which hates iniquitie,/That carefull Eye, which safe his Israel keepes,/From which no word, or thought can hidden bee,/Look's from his heaven." For the motif of God looking down from Heaven and beholding the plot, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 269-276: God's *vigilans oculus* surveys all lands, seas and hidden places and observes the danger in store for the king and the people of Britain; in Wallace (306-316) nothing can hide from the sight of God. He looks down upon the plot, laughs at the conspiracy and pities the end in store for his people. In Milton (166-169) God looks down from Heaven, laughs at the conspiracy and defends the cause of his own people. Later (220-222) he pities the British from on

high and blocks the conspiracy. For the depiction of the all seeing *oculus* of God in visual representations of the interception of the Gunpowder Plot, see A.M. Hind, *op. cit.*, II 393, 342. Cf. also Lancelot Andrewes, p. 185: "He, that sat in heaven all this while, and from thence looked downe and saw all this doing of the devill and his lims, in that mercy of His, which is over all his workes, to save the effusion of so much bloud, to preserve the soules of so many innocents, to keepe this land from so foule a confusion He tooke the matter into his owne hand." The device of course finds classical precedent in Homer and Virgil. See, for example, *Aen.* XI 725-726.

705-706 Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* I 464-465: *ille etiam caecos instare tumultus/saepe monet fraudemque et operta tumescere bella.*

707-715 God addresses his winged messenger, an Eagle, and tells him to fly to England bearing an enigmatic message. He promises to provide James with the insight with which to interpret the meaning of the obscure message.

707-712 Fletcher, following the gunpowder epic tradition, uses the device of God's summoning of a minion as a means of disclosing the conspiracy. (Cf. Jupiter's summoning and dispatching of Mercury in Virgil, *Aen.* IV 219-278). In this instance he summons an eagle. In Herring, God summons a winged messenger from his angelic host, instructing him to hasten to England and warn the king in a dream of the danger in store. The messenger obeys (292-315); in Milton, God summons Fama, instructs her to disclose the conspiracy. She obeys immediately (199-216). Fletcher's choice of an eagle as the divine messenger is an obvious punning reference to William Parker, fourth baron *Monteagle* and eleventh baron Morley (1557-1622), known as Lord *Monteagle*. He married Elizabeth Tresham, daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham. He joined the Earl of Essex in Ireland 1599, receiving a knighthood there on 12 July. He was involved in Essex's rebellion in London, Jan. 1606. After being committed to the tower, he was discharged on payment of a fine. After James's accession he enjoyed the favour of the court. Cf. *Apolly.* V 13.1-4: "That *mounting Eagle* forth he suddaine calls,/Fly, winged Herald, to that Citie fly,/Whose towres my love, truth, wisdom builds and walls:/There to the Councell this foule plot descry."). Cf. Sir John Stradling, *Epigrammatum Libri Quattuor* [London, 1607]), *Ad Nobilissimum ... Monteglum*, 3: *has Aquila ut de Monte volans casu Iovis*

ales/subsentit. It was to Monteagle that an anonymous cautionary letter about the Gunpowder Plot was sent. The delivery of the letter is described by James in his *History of the Gunpowder Plot, State Trials II*, p. 195: "For, the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the king's return, which was upon a Thursday, being but ten days before the Parliament, the Lord Monteagle, son and heir to Lord Morley, being in his own lodgings ready to go to supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his footmen, whom he had sent of an errand over the street, was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands." For the contents of the letter, see my note at 739, and Appendix II below. The frontispiece to John Vicars's *Mischeefes Myserie* (1617) depicts an Eagle delivering a letter to Mounteagle, as the king sits on his throne. There is the following verse subscription: "The gallant *Eagle*, soaring up on high:/Beares in his beake, *Treasons* discovery./ MOUNT, noble EAGLE, with thy happy prey,/And thy rich *Prize* to th' *King* with speed convey." Various suggestions have been made concerning the possible identity of the author of the letter: 1) Anne Vaux (D. Jardine, *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* [London 1857] 84-86); 2) Edward Oldcorne (H.H. Spink, *The Gunpowder Plot and Lord Mounteagle's Letter* [London 1902]); 3) William Vavasour (G.B. Morgan, *The Identification of the Writer of the Anonymous Letter to Lord Monteagle in 1605* [London 1916] 28); 4) Thomas Winter (E. Simons, *The Devil of the Vault: A Life of Guy Fawkes* [London 1963] 132-140); 5) Earl of Salisbury (F. Edwards, *Greenway Narrative* 247-249; rpt. of an article by J. Cambridge in *The Observer* 1967); 6) Thomas Phelippes (A. Haynes, *Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury 1563-1612* [London 1989] 153). See Nicholls, *op.cit.*, pp. 214, 221.

711 ambiguo fraudes sermone recludas] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 212 (of Fama): *ambiguas voces incertaque murmura spargit*.

712 caeco ... aenigmate] for the "enigmatic" nature of the anonymous letter, cf. 749; Herring, *P.P.* 314

713-715 Cf. *Apolly.* V 13.6-7: "That great Peace-makers sense Ile open, I/Will cleere his mind, and plaine those ridling folds."

714-715 infanda .../ausa] Cf. Milton, *Epigr.* I 2: *ausus es infandum, perfide Fauxe, nefas*; Herring, *P.P.* 463: *infandum aggressi facinus*; Gager, *Pyr.* 131: *Ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti*.

716-738 The Eagle obeys, flies swiftly through the air and arrives in London. He changes guise and delivers the message to a lord.

716-717 Cf. *Apolly*. V 13.8-9: "So said, so done: no place or time with-holds/His instant course, the towne he thinks, he sees, and holds."

716 *levibus volucris secat aethera pennis*] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 208 (*Fama*) *iam pennis cedentes remigat auras*. For the phrase *secat aethera pennis*, cf. Virgil, *Georg.* I 406; I 409.

717 *ocior et vento et rapido Iovis ocior igne*] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 327: *flatibus insanis et fulminis ocior alis*. Cf. also Nisus at Virgil, *Aen.* V 319: *et ventis et fulminis ocior alis*; Gager, *Pyr.* 557: *ilicet et ventis et fulminis ocior ictu*.

722 *coctilibus muris*] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* IV 58.

724 *heros*] The lord in question is Robert Cecil. Cf. Champion, *Pulv. Con.* I 656-657.

727 *mirantur ... mirantur*] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* I 421-422; I 709; VIII 91-92; VIII 161.

728 *animos ... sagaces*] For the "sagacity" of James, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 334: *sagaci corde volutat*.

729-734 Cf. *Apolly*. V 14.3-6: "He was the states Treasure, and Treasurer,/ Spaines feare, but Englands earthly oracle;/He Patron to my Mother Cambridge, where/Thousand sweet Muses, thousand Graces dwell."

731-732 Fletcher repeats these lines at *Fusca Ecloga* (*Silva Poetica*, p. 336, 3-4).

731-732 *Chamus ubi angustas tardo vix flumine ripas/complet decrepitoque pater iam deficit amne.*] For the sluggish flow of the river Cam, cf. Milton, *Elegia* I 89: *stat quoque iuncosas Cami remeare paludes*; *Lycidas* 103-104: "Next Camus, reverend Sire, went footing slow,/His mantle hairy and his bonnet sedge." For the phrase *ripas complet*, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VI 712.

734 *ille modos faustus calamo permisit agresti*] The line echoes Tityrus's enumeration of the privileges afforded by his *deus* at Virgil, *Ecl.* I 9-10: *ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum/ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti*. In Virgil, the *deus* provides *otia* (*deus nobis haec otia fecit* [6]); in Fletcher, the lord preserves *otia* (*ille etiam Musas tutsatur et otia Musis* [730]).

737 The lord in question is the Earl of Salisbury, one of the Privy Council. Cf. James's *History of the Gunpowder Plot*, *State Trials* II, p. 195: "Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he [Monteagle] presently repaired to his majesty's palace at Whitehall, and there delivered the same to the earl of Salisbury, his majesty's principal secretary."

739-749 *The lord, unable to decipher the riddle, delivers the message to the king.*

739 caeci ... vestigia scripti] For the intricate and vague nature of the anonymous letter, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 314: *obscuris perplexa aenigmata nodis*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 319-322: *in medio occurrens spatio Montaglius heros/ acceptam manibus chartam regalibus offert, incertum quo missa manu, quo pollice scripta*(*e coniuratis sed enim certissimus index*), and perhaps, by implication, Milton, *Q. Nov.* 211-213: *et primo Angliacas solito de more per urbes/ambiguas arguta dolos et detestabile vulgat/proditionis opus* (of Fama). Cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 977: "For when this work of darknesse was brought to light, the light was so dimme, and the riddle so darke". The letter reads as follows: "My Lord; Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse, to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter, and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you." (*State Trials* II, p. 197). The wording is echoed in Herring, *P.P.* 300-305. See Introduction, pp. lxix-lxx. For the specific reaction of astonishment (*stupuit*), cf. John Barclay, *De Coniuratione* 7: *et fremuere dii, stupuitque exterritus orbis*; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 216: *stupuere relatis* and the description of the king by Nicolo Molin, the Venetian ambassador to England (*Cal. State Papers, Venice* X 293) Nov. 21, 1605: "The King is in terror; he does not appear, nor does he take his meals in public as usual."

740 iterum voces iterumque recolligit omnes] Cf. James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*, *State Trials* II, p. 197: "The king no sooner read the letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it once again, he delivered his judgment of it ..."

741 singula pectore versat] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 323: *tacita pervolvens singula mente*.

742-743 Non si Oedipus auctor/spondeat, hos animo speres rescindere nodos] Fletcher's use of the Oedipus motif closely recalls Herring, *P.P.* 313-315. There the king is seen as a second Oedipus as he interprets the letter ingeniously: *principis et miro collustrat acumine mentem, / solvere quo obscuris perplexa aenigmata nodis / extemplo et facile possit velut Oedipus alter*. Cf. Vicars, *Mischiefes Myserie*, p. 33, 34-36: "And doth the Kings heart graciously inspire/ With judgement most profound, the knot t'untie/ (Like *Oedipus*) of this *Aenigma* high". Cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II, p. 341: "by an obscure letter, more resembling the riddle of an Oedipus than the counsel of a friend, that he should abstain from the place prefixed at the time determined." Vicars pokes fun at the Oedipus motif in the conclusion of his *Mischiefes Myserie*. On p. 120 he includes "An Aenigmaticall Riddle, which Oedipus hymselfe can scarcely resolve"—a conversation among birds (including the eagle) about their respective colours — . At the end of the riddle the following verses are subscribed: "This Riddle, if thou canst resolve, thou shalt Apollo be, / or else another Oedipus, faire Phyllis take't to thee."

747-748 For Salisbury's consultation of others, cf. James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot, State Trials* II, p. 196: "And therefore did the earl of Salisbury conclude with the lord Monteagle, that he would, in regard of the king's absence, impart the same Letter to some more of his majesty's council" .

749 ipsi referunt aenigmata regi] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 320-321: *hi denique regi / solliciti ostendunt*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 319-320: *Montaglius heros / acceptam manibus chartam regalibus offert*. The letter was shown to the king on 3 November.

750-751 oculo ... / percurrens] Cf. Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 664-665: *Ponderat acceptam schedulam rex, terque quaterque / percurrens oculique acie mentisque beatae*.

750-753 *The king gives an ingenious interpretation of the message.*

750-751 nefandas/ ... ambages] Cf. the Sibyl's prophecy at Virgil, *Aen.* VI 98-99: *Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla / horrendas canit ambages*. There significantly it was implied that Aeneas was unable to interpret the riddle. The verbal *ambages* of the Sibyl mirror perhaps the iconographical *ambages* of the labyrinth depicted by Daedalus in the *ekphrasis* at *Aen.* VI 29-30: *Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque*

resolvit/caeca regens filo vestigia. (Cf. *tenebrasque resolvit* at 753 below). For links between the king's intuition and the Sibyl's prophetic powers, cf. Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain*, (London, 1653), p. 30: "The King considering it circumspectly (as Cicero sayd of the Sibyls works, *Id maius est attentum animi quam furentis*) sayd, This is no Mad-mans writing." Cf. Thomas Cooper, *Series Detectae Nuper Coniurationis*, F²: *Nam et Regi esse ingenium noverant in verborum ambages ac aenigmata felix.*

750-753 Cf. *Apolly.* V 14.7-9: "But neither hee, nor humane wit could find/The riddles sense, till that learn'd royall mind,/Lighted from heaven, soone the knot, and plot untwin'd."

751-752 For the mental illumination which enabled James to interpret the letter correctly, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 323-324: *Rex prudens tacita pervolvens singula mente/sic tandem: "Indicia haec non sunt temnenda"*; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 335-336: *Veris cui denique mentem/coeli inspiravit vis provida coniecturis*; Gager, *Pyr.* 1160-1163: *Ne non proditio emanet, se deferet ultro, ipsa fidem sibi franget; epistola nuntia miris/intellecta modis, rem nobis perferet omnem;/denique rem nobis ostendes, Quinte Novembris*; cf. also *The Effect of the Indictment, State Trials II*, p. 182: "How the king was divinely illuminated by Almighty God, the only ruler of princes, like an Angel of God, to direct and point as it were to the very place, to cause a search to be made there, out of those dark words of the letter concerning a terrible blow"; cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials II*, p. 238; Stradling, *Ad regem de coniuratione illa suo, quasi divinitus dato augurio, penitus perspecta: Instar mysterii vestras devenit ad aures,/littera Monteglo missa relecta tibi,/ingenio sensum obscurum bene coniicis. O tu/digne gubernaculo, rexque propheta simul*; Cf. also *State Trials II*, p. 198: "<He> did thereupon conjecture that the danger mentioned should be some sudden danger of blowing up of powder"; Thomas Cooper, *Praeludia ad Nonas*, p. 3: *Ad Regem ex Obscuris Literis Pyrae Proditionis Naturam Coniectantem*, 1-2: *Divinat labiis Rex optimus; utque recludat/abdita, prudentis gloria regis erit.*

752-753 *mox omnia pandit/monstra*] For the "monstrous" nature of the plot, cf. *State Trials II*, p. 168: "Now as this Powder-Treason is in itself prodigious and unnatural, so it is in the conception and birth most monstrous, as arising out of the dead ashes of former Treasons."

753 aperitque nefas solus, tenebrasque resolvit] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 290: *Phosphorus os effert coelo tenebrasque resolvit*; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 591: *extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit*.

754-778 The plot is uncovered. Fawkes and his accomplices are arrested. Fawkes is unrepentant, but frightened at the prospect of infernal torment.

755-756 nitroso/pulvere] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 120: *nitrationis pulveris igne*; *PL* II 936-937: "The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,/Instinct with fire and nitre."; IV 814-815: "As when a spark/Lights on a heap of nitrous powder."

757 caelo ostenduntur aperto] Cf. *In Homines Nefarios*, p. 15, 34-36: *Sat tenebris noctique datum est; caligine pulsaliamdudum fraudes coniurataeque rapinae/caelo ostenduntur*. For a classical parallel, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 263-264.

758-761 Cf. *Apolly.* V 16.7: "The world amaz'd, hel yawn'd, earth gap't, heaven star'd." The simile closely echoes Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 243-246: *non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens/infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat/pallida, dis invisae, superque immane barathrum/cernatur, trepidant immisso lumine Manes*.

760 penitusque cavernis] Cf. the description of the Greeks concealed in the wooden horse in Virgil, *Aen.* II 19-20: *includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas/ingentes uterumque armato milite complent*.

762-764 apparet ... apparet] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* II 483-484: *apparet domus intus et atria longa patebant, apparet Priami et veterum penetralia regna*; Vida, *Christiad* VI 214-215: *Apparet confusa intus domus, altaque circum/atrica, rarescunt tenebrae et nox caeca recessit*.

763-764 apparet barathrum/ ... miranturque diem perculso lumine manes] This echoes the simile in Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 245-246 where the exposure of the monstrous Cacus is likened to the earth gaping apart: *superque immane barathrum/cernitur; trepidant immisso lumine Manes*. Cf. my note at 767-769 below.

765 criminis auctor] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 215: *auctoresque ... sceleris*.

765-769 For Fawkes's arrest, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 364; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 343-344; *State Trials* II, p. 201: "he resolved to apprehend him; as he did" (James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*).

767-769 These lines are closely modelled on Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 265-267, describing the stunned and curious reaction of the bystanders to the exposure of the monstrous Cacus after his defeat by Hercules: *nequeunt expleri corda tuendo/terribilis oculos, vultum villosaque saetis/pectora semiferi atque extinctos faucibus ignis*. The analogy with Cacus is made explicitly by Gager at *Pyr.* 111-118. Addressing *Quinta Novembris*, he states: *Tu nostrum e tenebris incendia vera parantem,/speluncaque sua, manibus pedibusque revinctum/Cacum exturbasti; expleritum corda nequibant/sulphureos spectando cados, pestemque caverinis/pulveream, ferrique strues et grandia saxis/saxa cadis aggesta super, ferro insuper ipsum/duratum saxoque virum, iam dira minantem,/et vel adhuc spirantem oculis ac faucibus ignes*.

770 audenti similis, similisque timenti] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 649: *illum indignanti similem similemque minanti*.

770-772 For a milder statement of Fawkes's defiance, cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 346-348: *Ille nefas primum se religionis amore/Romanae aggressum elapsumque dolere protervol/affirmat vultu*. Cf. also *State Trials* II, p. 201: "yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, as he often smiled in scornful manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting only, with the said Scaevola, his failing execution thereof, whereof, he said, the devil, and not God, was the discoverer"; Vicars, *Mischeefes Myserie*, p. 54, 3-4: "Most scornfully he did himselfe behave,/And oftentimes would seeme even to deride." For a fuller account of Fawkes's intransigence, cf. John Ross, *Britannica, sive de Regibus Veteris Britanniae* (Frankfurt, 1607), pp. 76-77: *Tunc veluti monstrum spectatu venit ad Aulam. .../Non variat vultum, sed ubique ac omnibus idem .../... huic aenea frons est,/ferrea mens et cor adamantinum, ut hunc nihil horum/molliat aut trepidis quicquam compungat ab ausis*.

773 trepidare metu] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* II 685; VI 491.

773-778 For the change in Fawkes's attitude in view of imminent torture, cf. *State Trials*, II, p. 202: "But, the next morning, being carried to the Tower, he did not there remain above two or three days, being twice or thrice, in that space, re-examined, and the rack only offered and shewed unto him, when the mask of his Roman fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his face."

779-815 Praise of God the Father for rescuing Britain from disaster. Promise that God will always be worshipped by the people of

Britain and that his saving grace will be remembered by generations to come. The power of God over winds, mountains, rivers, night, sun; also his victory over the Spanish Armada; praise for replacing the deceased Elizabeth by peace-bringing James, a no less worthy successor.

779-791 For the culmination of the gunpowder epic in a hymn of praise and thanksgiving to God, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 392-493; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 353-395; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 223-226. For parallels in the gunpowder sermon tradition, cf. Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 910: "*Magnificetur Dominus. The Lord hath magnified His power and goodnesse toward us, this day, for which His holy Name be magnified; this day, and for ever*"; *ibid.*, p. 991: "Before we doe any thing, let us falle downe and worship the LORD that made us"; *ibid.*, p. 1008: "And praised be GOD, this day, and all our dayes, that this day shewed, that He taketh pleasure in the prosperitie of His Servants, and from all lots and plots, doth ever deliver them."

785 Dum domus ...] Cf. *Iusta Oxoniensium* (London 1612) D4^v, 1-4: *Dum Londiniensis Capitoli immobile saxum/et stet papicolis invidiosa domus,/fausta tibi fuerit, gens Anglica quinta Novembris,/lux infausta tibi sexta Novembris erit.* For a classical parallel, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* IX 448-449: *dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum/accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.*

786 pulvere sulphureo] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 226; 267; 337; Campion *Pulv. Con.* I 99: *sulphureus tibi pulvis adest ignisque sepultus.*

786 tantis ... ruinis] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 218.

789-790 Semper honos, semperque tuum solenne Britannis/nomen erit] Cf. Herring, *P.P.* 490-492: *Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque sonabunt/omnibus in templis, domibus vicisque pagisque/Albionis*; cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 236-238 (addressed to Fawkes): *Quin papa omnipotens Capitoli immobile saxum/dum colet imperiumque pater mitratus habebit,/semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.* The phrase is used of Elizabeth at *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II, p. 227: "Oh blessed queen, our late deat sovereign, *semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.*" The origin of the phrase is Virgil, *Ecl.* V 78; *Aen.* I 609.

790-815 These lines are marked by their hymnic quality. Fletcher incorporates such features of the genre as the repetition of the pronoun in various cases: *tu* (792, 793, 794, 796, 810); *te* (790, 798), with the

threefold occurrence of *tu pater* (792, 796, 810). Cf. the invocation to a vernal Venus at Lucretius 1.1-43. The device is implemented by Milton in the angelic hymn of praise to God the Father at *PL* 3.372-382: ("Thee" [372, 374], "Thy" [375, 378, 380], "Thou" [376, 377, 379]). See Haan, "Heaven's Purest Light" at 116.

791 factaque per seros dabimus memoranda nepotes] The statement that God's deliverance of the British from the Gunpowder Plot will be celebrated for ever parallels an actual order issued from Parliament: "Be it therefore enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in every cathedral and parish-church, or other usual place for common prayer, within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, shall always upon the Fifth day of November say morning prayer, and give unto Almighty God thanks for this most happy deliverance" (*Statutes at Large*, VII 3: *Iacobi I*, cap. 1, 1605-6). Cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 890: "Of keeping in remembrance, many wayes there be: Among the rest, this is one, of making dayes; set solemne Dayes to preserve memorable Acts, that they bee not eaten out, by them, but ever revived, with the returne of the Yeare, and kept still fresh in continuall memorie ... We have therefore well done and upon good warrant, to tread in the same steps, and by law to provide, that this day should not dye, nor the memoriall thereof perish, from our selves, or from our seed; but be consecrated to perpetuall memorie, by a yearely acknowledgement to be made of it throughout all generations"; *ibid.*, p. 890: "... and in publike manner to render our yearely solemne thanksgiving, that we also, by the Sonne of man, were delivered, from the powder laid ready to consume, and from the match light to give it fire." Cf. Gager, *Pyr.* 9-11: *Esse quidem festum recteque pieque senatus/consulto iussit, populus quoque sciscit, et optat/aeternum*. Cf. also Herring, *P.P.* 488-493; Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 392-395; *Campion, Pulv. Con.* II 81-83; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 225-226.

792-794 Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* I 52-54: *hic vasto rex Aeolus antrol luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras/imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat*. In Homer, *Odyssey* X Iff., King Aeolus rules the floating island of Aeolia, seat of the winds. He presents Odysseus with a bag in which he has imprisoned the winds. Virgil develops Homer by depicting Aeolus as unleashing a storm at the bribery of Juno. Fletcher makes explicit

the implicit analogy in Virgil between the raging winds (*luctantes ventos* [*Aen.* I 53]) and the turmoils of the heart: *immensoque domas luctantia clastro pectora* (*Loc.* 793-794). In Virgil, the calming of nature is compared (in an inversion of the normal processes of a simile) to human sentiments, as a *pious* ruler calms the *pectora* (153) of the raging mob. For the imprisonment of the winds, cf. Lucretius VI 197-198 in which the winds are pent in clouds like caged beasts: *magno indignantur murmure clausi/nubibus in caveisque ferarum more minantur*.

797 et lenta aestivo tardas vestigia soli] Cf. *Apolly.* V 27.1: "Thou bid'st the Sunne piece out the ling'ring day". For the phrase *aestivo ... soli*, cf. Virgil, *Georg.* IV 28.

798-799 Cf. Lucretius I 7-9: *tibi suavis daedala tellus/summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti/placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum*.

798-803 Cf. *Apolly.* V 28.

807 Nos anni premit effoeti properata senectus] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 218: *effoetique senes*. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* VII 440, 452; VIII 508.

810-811 The defeat of the Spanish Armada. See note at 416-418 above.

814 placidoque ferens tria sceptrā Iacobo] Cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 4: *sceptrā Caledoniis coniunxerat Anglica Scotis*; 203 *sceptrigero ... Iacobo*; Cf. note at *Loc.* 433-434 above.

816-836 Praise of king James. He has brought peace. The poet requests that James receive the poem, product of a youthful genius; and concludes by promising that in his more mature years he will sing of James's exploits.

816-817 Cf. John Barclay, *Poematum Libri Duo* (London 1615), p. 21: *Ad Potentissimum Britanniarum Monarcham Iacobum Primum: O decus, o ingens animosae gloria terrae, / o patriae lux alma tuae*; Campion, *Pulv. Con.* II 67-69: *regum o decus, o ter maxime vates, / te populo populumque tibi tria regnaque solus/servasti*.

818-819 placidam tu pacis olivam/Angligenis infers felix] Cf. Wallace, *Reg. Lib.* 22-25, Milton, *Q. Nov.* 5-6: *pacificusque novo felix divesque sedebat/in solio*. For the olive of peace achieved under James, cf. Campion, *Pulv. Con.* I 36-38: *ut primum firmatas undique vidit/res Britonum dubias, oleaque par omnia pacem/lire coronatam*; *Q. Nov.* 15: *regnaque olivifera ... florentia pace*. For the association of the olive with peace, see, among others, Virgil, *Georg.* II 425: *placitam Paci*

nutritor olivam; Aen. VIII 116: paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit olivae.

821 For the gates of Janus, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* I 293-394; VII 620-622. For an implicit association of James's peaceful reign with the closing of the gates of Janus, cf. *State Trials* I, p. 215 where the envisaged success of the gunpowder plot would have broken through these gates: "by the violent force of powder, to break up, as with a petard, our triple-locked peaceful gates of Janus ..."

825 pubentem tenera lanugine Musam] Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* II 51 *cana legam tenera lanugine mala; Aen. X 324: flaventem prima lanugine malas; Ovid, Amores* I 14.23: *signarat dubia teneras lanugine malas.*

829-831 These lines are included as lines 18-20 of the dedication to the young prince Henry in the Dobell MS of the *Locustae*. (See Appendix 1). Fletcher repeats these lines verbatim in Appendix to *Silva Poetica* (ed Grosart), p. 350, 13-15.

836 resonabilis accinet echo] Cf. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 906: "That the sound of it was so great among the Heathen, as it made an Eccho even in Iury it selfe. That Eccho then followeth (in the III verse) The person only changed; *Nobiscum*, for *Cum illis*: there's all."

APPENDIX I

1) Dedication to James Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells (BM Sloane MSS 444, c. 1611)

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Ecclesiaeque Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcopo longe celeberrimo, Iacobo Montaguo, domino mihi colendissimo:

Munus, nobilissime Praesul, iniqua temporum consuetudo a supplicibus extorquet; hoc potissimum integritas tua et nostra profunda quidem illa paupertas postulat. Nuperrime nobis pater, vir tibi notissimus, periit; periit quidem nobis, sibi nunc tandem vivit. Viduae reliquit quos sustentaret liberos decem; quo sustentaret plane nihil. In hac orbitate patrisque desiderio ad illum patriae patrem confugimus. Quanto tu nobis auxilio esse potes non nescimus; nec potes modo pro eo quo Rex te semper complexus est favore, sed et pro ea, quam tu semper amplexus es, humanitate et sanctissimo hoc munere. Velis etiam miseris succurrere, orbis opitulari. Orbis preces quam sint apud Deum efficaces nosti; has tibi etiam copiosas devincies. Mihi etiam exorandus es ut carmen hoc Cantabrigiae nuper incohatum inter urbanos strepitus parentisque illius quidem exspirantis singultus, huius vero deflentis lamenta sororumque lacrimas confectum properatum tibi munus quo soles oculo perlegas.

Interim qui te maxima Ecclesiae utilitate ad hanc dignitatem evexit Deus, eidem Ecclesiae, Principi, Patriae, bonis denique omnibus florentissimum diu conservet.

Tibi et dignitati tuae devotissimus Phin. Fletcher, Coll. Regal.

[To the most reverend Father in Christ and by far the most distinguished Bishop of the Church of Bath and Wells, James Montague, my most venerable lord:

Most noble Bishop, the unfair custom of the times forces a gift from suppliants; your integrity and that poverty of ours which is vast indeed, demands this above all. Very recently my father, a man well known to you, died; indeed he died as regards us; now at last he lives as regards himself. He left to his widow ten children for her to support but clearly

nothing with which she might support them. In this state of deprivation and longing for a father, we flee to that father of our country. We are not unaware of the great assistance which you can provide for us; and you can do this not only in accordance with that favour with which the King has always embraced you, but also in accordance with that humanity which you have always embraced, and this most holy gift. May you be willing also to come to the help of the wretched, to bring aid to the destitute. You know how powerful to prevail upon God are the prayers of the destitute; may you also bind these abundant prayers closely to yourself. I must also beseech you to survey with your customary eye this Cambridge poem recently begun amid the din of the city and, indeed, amid my sobbing for that father of mine breathing his last — a gift completed in haste for you amid the lamentations of one who weeps, and amid the tears of his sisters.

Meanwhile may God who has elevated you to this dignity with the greatest advantage to the Church preserve you in long prosperity for that same Church, Prince, Country, in short for all good men.

Phineas Fletcher, most devoted to you and to your dignity, King's College]

2) Dedication to Henry, Prince of Wales (Dobell MS c. 1611-1612)

Communi Anglorum omnium amoris illustrissimo Walliae Principi Henrico.

O decus, o aevi et gentis spes maxima nostrae,
 deliciae Anglorum, fausti faustissima patris
 progenies, cui Musae omnes sua munera laetae,
 cui secat ipsa suas Pallas aequaliter artes,
 cui paria ipse pater Phoebus non invidet arma, 5
 sive libet iaculo contendere, sive potenti
 robora mulcere et montes deducere cantu,
 si tibi regales indulgent otia curae:
 accipe parva quidem sed non indebita mentis
 munera, quae canit ignoti nova fistula vatis; 10
 carmina nascentemque fove (tua regna) poetam.
 Non is, non ausus (nec tanta superbia Musae)
 inter Apollineas laurus palmasque virentes

vix rauca dignos stipula disperdere cantus,¹
 sed salices inter spretas ulvamque palustrem 15
 (exosas Musis salices) miserabile carmen
 integrat² innatosque animi depascitur aestus,
 qua pater externis Chamus vix cognita rivis
 flumina demulcens regales alluit hortos,
 templaque submissis veneratur regia lymphis.³ 20
 O mihi supremæ maneat pars tarda senectæ,⁴
 dum tua facta licet totum mihi ferre per orbem:
 non me carminibus Linus, non vicerit Orpheus;
 maximus ille licet quem iactat Mantua vates,
 maximus ille tamen dicet se carmine victum. 25
 Iam faveas primoque adsis, Henrice, labori.
 Accipe tu trepidantem atque hanc sine tempora circum
 inter Apollineas myrtum succrescere lauros.
 Sic tibi florentem caeli Pater ille iuventam
 propitius foveat; sic cum tibi plenior aetas 30
 ipsa tuis Regum meretrix succumbat ab armis
 Roma et septenos submittens diruta colles,
 victa tuos decoret non surrectura triumphos.

[To the most illustrious Henry, Prince of Wales, loved by all English people

O glory, o greatest hope of our age and people, delight of the British,
 most fortunate offspring of a fortunate father, for whom all the Muses
 happily divide their gifts; with whom Pallas herself equally divides her
 skills; with whom father Phoebus himself does not begrudge sharing his
 arms, whether your pleasure be to contend in the javelin or soothe oak
 trees and lead down mountains with your powerful music, if the anx-
 ieties that attend royalty afford you leisure, receive my mind's gift, small
 indeed but not undeserving — a gift which the new pipe of an unknown
 poet sings; cherish the poems and a poet coming to birth (your king-
 dom). He did not dare (nor has his Muse such arrogance) to waste a song
 scarcely worthy of a hoarse reed, among the laurels of Apollo and his

¹ Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* III 27.

² Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* IV 514-515.

³ Lines 18-20 are identical to *Loc.* 829-831. See my note *ad loc.*

⁴ Lines 21-25 are closely modelled on Virgil, *Ecl.* IV 53-59.

flourishing palms; but he renews a lamentable song amid the lowly willows and marshy elm (willows are hated by the Muses) and he feeds the innate passion of his mind where father Cam caressing with his outer currents rivers hardly known, washes the gardens of kings and with submissive waters pays homage to royal temples.

O, may the tardy share of extreme old age await me, when I can proclaim your deeds through the whole world. Linus, Orpheus would not conquer me in song. Although that bard of whom Mantua boasts is great, still that bard, for all his greatness, will say he has been conquered in song. Now may you show favour, Henry, and be the first to be at hand for my work. Receive one who trembles and allow this myrtle about my temples to grow among the laurels of Apollo. Thus may that Father of the heavens propitiously nurture your flourishing youth, thus when you have the fullness of years may the Whore of Rome herself submit as a result of your arms and, overthrown, lower her seven hills, and conquered and not to rise again, may she adorn your triumphs.]

3) Dedication to Thomas Murray, tutor to Prince Charles, and later thirteenth Provost of Eton (Harleian MS [between 1612 and 1621])

Optimo et mihi colendissimo semper viro Thomae Murreio.

Quod nonullis (neque id raro) Curialibus, id mihi hodie, vir summe, homini rusticano contigisse perspicio. Pueritiam alicui fortasse heroinae, iuventutem magnati, senectam saepe mendicitati consecrant. Hoc in me certe convenit, qui statim a pueritia poeticae, iuvenis cum essem, Theologiae, artium quotquot sunt imperatrici fidelissime inserviens, iam nunc opem tuam implorare et ad mendicorum artes confugere cogor. Nam quod in Poeticae mercede fieri dolendum, id Theologiae etiam competere numquam satis deplorandum est.

Siquis inter poetas numeratur qui foedissimo fabularum contextu Musas publice stuprare blanditiisque Asinum Aureum sugillare docte noverit, huic laurus una fere omnium voce et praemia satis opima deferuntur. Quod siquis Simonides adhuc superstes est qui numinis coelique memor aliquid honesti admiscere audeat, ad deos (ut ab Hierone ille) non sine risu satis superbe remittitur. Ita sane inter Theologos qui vitiis Patroni parasitando in sinus tacite illabi scite didicit luxuve torpescere, qui quidvis potius quam Theologum Pastoremve agere solet, is fere est

quem admirantur plerique, cui vectigalia Ecclesiae aut condicionibus non tam iniquis mox elocaturum conducere aut vilius emere licebit aut forte quidem longo tandem obsequio aut potius servitio demereri. Contra, quos fortiter vociferare et importune emendicari pudet, qui non scalam ad caulas erectam sed apertas tamen fores Christi non immemores exspectant, ceu mendicos minimum merces non sine increpatione demittimus. Hinc est quod aut nulla aut perexigua mihi spes affulgeat; cui et vox numquam importuna, et ingenium minus quam haec aetas postulat inverecondum semper fuit. Huc tamen dura et plane ferrea necessitas usque impulit ut ad te hominem facie mihi tantum et fama notum, semel modo aspectum, nullis officiis devinctum confugerem stipemque timidus quidem sed non omnino expses flagitarem. Qui mihi unus succurrere potuit pater sibi tempestive, nobis immature obiit, qui (liceat quod verum est dicere) patriae multa credidit, nihil debuit. Patriae patrem si appellem, nemo omnium est qui mihi auxilio sit aut subsidio. Hoc igitur quicquid est muneris (ut supplicibus nunc necesse est) ad te deferre certum est. Musas dico has (da veniam verbo) commendicas. Sed liceat mihi obsecro te iisdem versibus nascentis, immo feliciter crescentis nostrae spei prudentissimum censorem quibus suum poeta Censorinum affari:

Donarem pateras grataque commodis,
 Censorine, meis aera sodalibus;
 sed non haec mihi vis, non tibi talium
 rei est aut animus deliciarum egens.

Verum ut ille, si

gaudes carminibus, carmina possumus
 donare et pretium dicere muneri.

Neque diffitendum est quin ipsa, si accuratius inspexeris, parum compta nec ut curiam decet nitentia, immo certe squalida potius et paedore obsita apparuerint; quippe in luctu meorum composita situ diuturno sepulta et hac tandem necessitate resuscitata, in lucem (tamquam Musarum umbrae) desuetam prodeuntia. Versus enim et male tornati neque unquam incudi postea redditi,⁵ et multa inter inimica Musis negotia scripti sunt. Siquid erratum est, pro humanitate tua ignosces, versusque ipsos eorumque auctorem in tutelam tuam famulitiumque recip-

⁵ Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica* 441: *et male tornatos incudi reddere versus*.

ies. Sic te spemque nostram tibi auspicato commissam fortunet deus. Sic Carolus noster, ut divinus olim ille puellus, annis, virtutibus gratiaque apud deum, hominemque cottidie excrescat.

E familia tibi maxime devincta et devota natu maximus Phinees Fletcher.

[To Thomas Murray, an excellent man and one forever respected by me:

I see, o excellent man, that something which befalls some people of senatorial rank (and that not a rare occurrence) has today befallen me, a rustic man. They dedicate their childhood perhaps to some heroine, their youth to a man of importance, often their old age to beggary. This certainly befits me — one who immediately from childhood was a most faithful servant of whoever is mistress of the art of poetry, and when a young man, the art of theology, and now am compelled to implore your help and take refuge in the art of beggary. For never can it be adequately deplored that that lamentable fate which occurs in the profession of poetry also befalls the profession of theology.

If anyone is ranked in the category of poets who publicly knows how to debauch the Muses in the most foul composition of fables, or cleverly to beat black-and-blue the Golden Ass, upon him virtually unanimously are bestowed the laurel and sufficiently sumptuous rewards. But if there is still any Simonides surviving who, mindful of divinity and of heaven, dares to mix something of respectability, he is dispatched to the gods (just as he was by Hiero) and that not without ridicule but with sufficient arrogance. So indeed among Theologians it is the one who sponges on the vices of a patron, who cleverly learns how to glide silently onto his bosom, who is accustomed to devise some novelty in the faith and defend it in verbose language, who is accustomed to engage in slothful idleness, become listless through luxury, do anything rather than be a theologian or a pastor, generally he is the one whom many people admire, to whom they will take pleasure either in paying church taxes on terms not so very unfair (as he is about to hire them out) or in purchasing them more cheaply or indeed in eventually earning them by chance through long allegiance or rather servitude. On the other hand those who are ashamed to shout out loudly or inappropriately to become a beggar, who expect not so much that a ladder be erected up to the sheepfold, but that the doors be open (not unmindful of Christ), these we dismiss not without rebuke as worthless, as though theirs are the wares of a beggar. Hence there are grounds either for no hope of or for very little shining

before me, whose voice has never been unsuitable, while my genius was always less shameless that this age demands. However a cruel and clearly iron-hearted necessity has driven me to this, namely, that I should take refuge in you, a man known to me only by his face and reputation; whom I have seen only once, and one bound by no obligations to me, and that fearful indeed but not without hope I should implore you for a donation. My father, the one person who could have helped me, died, timely enough for himself, but for us, before his time, who (if I may speak the truth) entrusted many things to his country, but owed nothing: if I were to call on him as father of my country, there is no one at all who can come to my help or rescue. I have decided therefore to bring before you this gift, such as it is, (as is now necessary for a suppliant). I term these Muses (if you pardon the term) 'fellow-beggars'. But allow me, I beg you, to address you as judge of my hope taking birth or rather happily increasing, in the same words as the poet addressed Censorinus:

'I would give you dishes, Censorinus, and bronze pleasing to our common advantage; but I do not have this power, nor do you have need of such objects, or a mind lacking in delights.'

Or as he said

'You rejoice in poems; we can give you poems and a prize for your gift.'

And you should not deny that if indeed you inspect them more closely they appear not elegant or shining as befits senatorial rank; rather they are certainly dirty and covered with filth; inasmuch as they were composed amid the grief of my family, buried in long-term decay, and revived again through this necessity, advancing into the unusual light (like the shadows of the Muses). For the verses are badly fashioned and have never afterwards been returned to the anvil, and were composed amid many affairs which are hostile to the Muses. If there is anything of error, may you pardon it in accordance with your humanity and may you receive those same verses and their author into your protection and household. Thus may God prosper you and our hope entrusted to you in your auspiciousness. Thus may our Charles (like once upon a time that divine little boy) grow daily in years, virtues, grace in the presence of God and man,

Phineas Fletcher, the eldest of a family greatly bound and devoted to you.]

4) The dedicatory epistle to Roger Townsend (Quarto edition, 1627)

Rogero Townshend, Equiti Baron., Musarum omnium Patrono, vere nobili mihiq̃ue amicissimo.

Magnum illud, optime Musarum pridem alumne, nunc patrone, immo plane maximum nobis vitium inest, altius naturae, penitus corruptae, defixum et defossum, cum iniurias imo et memori sub corde beneficia summa tantum lingua et primoribus vix labris reponimus. In illis retinendis quam tenaces, pertinaces! In his praesertim divinis quam lubrici et prorsus elumbes! Illa gentis Israeliticae tyrannide plusquam ferrea (ad vitae taedium) depressae in libertatem vindicatio (Proh Deus immortalis!) qualis, quanta! Aegyptios regemque adeo ipsum tumentem odiis ferocemque plurimis cruentisque admodum plagis maceratos quam lenes viderant et humanos! Maximos hostium exercitus totumque adeo Aegypti robur sine hoste devictos, sine ferro deletos conspexerant; fluctuum ipsi moenibus vallati, illos molibus depressos et demersos spectaverant; rupem sitientibus in flumina liquatam, solum esurientibus pane caelesti epulisque instructissimis constratum, immo (ut nunc moris est) ferculis in cubitos coacervatis plane contextum degustarant. Quam subita tamen oblivione haec omnia prorsus evanuerunt! Miracula sane magna et stupenda, sed, ut nobis in proverbio est, non ad triduum durantia. Id nobis hodie vitii est. Celebris illa anni Octogesimi Octavi pugna, immo potius sine pugna victoria, penitus nobis excidit, heu, quam cito! Vidimus Hispanos ante proelium ovantes dictisque, immo scriptis ἐπινικίοις priusquam solverent triumphantes. Sed quod nos de Martio dicimus, 'rabie plusquam leonina mensem auspicari, abire vel agnella leniorem', id divino adiutorio classi invictae contigit. Quin et sulphurea quidem illa, Tartarea immo, sane nullo umquam daemone vel sperata machinatio divinis solum oculis patens, divina solum manu patefacta quam cito, quam prorsus intercidit! Vix ulla (atque illa certe exesa penitusque contempta) prodicionis tam horrendae, liberationis tam stupendae monumenta restant. Negant impudentes Papistae; pernegant eiurantque. Quin et nos diem tanto beneficio illustrem quam pigri et enervosi ab illorum mendaciis calumniisque vindicamus! Ignoscent igitur mihi aequi iudices, si poetarum minimus scelerum omnium longe maximum, crassa

(ut aiunt) Minerva⁶ contextum ad perpetuam Iesuiticae Pietatis memoriam, ad animos Britannorum excitandos honoremque Deo Servatori restaurandum in lucem emisirim.

Ignoscent alii, tu vero, Equitum nobilissime, aliquod fraterni sive paterni potius genii vestigium agnosces, et vultu non illaeto munusculum accipies ab homunculo.

Tuae dignitati devotissimo Phin. Fletcher.

[To Sir Roger Townsend, Patron of all the Muses, truly noble and my greatest friend:

Great is our fault, indeed clearly very great is our fault, o you who were formerly the excellent nursling of the Muses, now their patron, when we place only on the tip of our tongue and hardly at the forefront of our lips iniquities and moreover great deeds in the depths of our mindful hearts. How steadfast, very steadfast are we in retaining these! How wavering and utterly weak, especially in these divine concerns! Oh, the nature and extent of the vindication of freedom of the Israelites oppressed by a tyranny greater than that of iron (to the tedium of life)! Oh immortal God! How lenient and humane had they witnessed the Egyptians and their very king, himself once fierce and swelling with hatred, now weakened by many lashes; they had caught sight of the greatest army of the enemy and in addition the whole strength of Egypt conquered without an enemy, destroyed without a sword! They themselves, encompassed by walls of waves, had seen them weighed down and submerged by the mass; and when they were thirsting, they saw the rock melting into a stream, and when hungry, they tasted the ground strewn with bread from heaven and a well-equipped feast; indeed (as is now the custom) clearly concealed in dishes piled up to their elbows. And yet into what sudden oblivion have all these things suddenly vanished! Indeed the miracles were great and astonishing but, as is our proverb, they did not last for three days. That is our fault today. Alas how quickly has that famous battle of the year eighty-eight, or rather a victory without a battle, utterly departed from our memories! We saw the Spaniards rejoicing before the battle and triumphing with words or rather writings of victory before celebrating a victory: but that which we say of March 'the month begins with greater fierceness than a lion's, but

⁶ Cf. Horace, S. II 2.3.

departs more mildly than even a little lamb' befell the invincible fleet with the help of God. Indeed how quickly, how utterly has perished that Gunpowder, or rather Tartarean, Plot — a plot indeed never hoped for by any demon and evident only to the eyes of God, disclosed only by the hand of God! Scarcely do any records (and those indeed are corrupt and utterly spurned) remain of so horrific a betrayal, of so amazing a liberation. The impudent papists deny it: they utterly deny it under oath. Indeed how sluggishly and unenthusiastically do we vindicate from lies and insults a day made famous by so great a deed! Therefore let fair judges pardon me if I, as least of poets, have brought into the light by far the greatest of all crimes, composed (as they say) with stolid Minerva to the eternal memory of Jesuit Piety in order to rouse the minds of the British and restore honour to God our Saviour.

Let others pardon me; you too, most noble of knights; may you recognise some vestige of my brother's or rather my father's genius and with gracious countenance may you accept a little gift from a little man.

Most devoted to your dignity, Phineas Fletcher.]

APPENDIX II

King James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*

While this land and whole monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, as well at home, as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main good pillars of all good government, piety and justice, no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing: the king being upon his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the parliament-time, which had been twice prorogued already, partly in regard of the season of the year, and partly of the term: as the winds are ever stillest immediately before a storm; and, as the sun bleaks often hottest to foretel a following shower; so, at that time of greatest calm, did this secretly hatched thunder begin to cast forth the first flashes, and flaming lightnings of the approaching tempest. For, the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the king's return, which was upon a Thursday, being but ten days before the parliament, the lord Monteagle, son and heir to the lord Morley, being in his own lodgings ready to go to supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his footmen, whom he had sent of an errand over the street, was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands; which my lord no sooner received, but that, having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown, and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or superscription, did call one of his men unto him, for helping him to read it. But no sooner did he conceive the strange contents thereof, although he was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it, as whether of a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish devised pasquil by some of his enemies to scare him from his attendance at the parliament, yet did he, as a most dutiful and loyal subject, conclude not to conceal it, whatever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he presently repaired to his majesty's palace at Whitehall, and there delivered the same to the earl of Salisbury, his majesty's principal secretary. Whereupon, the said earl of Salisbury having read the Letter and heard the manner of the coming of

it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my lord for his discretion, telling him plainly, that, whatsoever the purport of the Letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the seas, wherewith he had acquainted, as well the king himself, as divers of his privy-counsellors, concerning some business the Papists were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for some combination amongst them against this parliament-time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the king some petition for toleration of religion, which should be delivered in some such order, and so well backed, as the king should be loth to refuse their requests; like the sturdy beggars, craving alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore did the earl of Salisbury conclude with the lord Monteagle, that he would, in regard of the king's absence, impart the same Letter to some more of his majesty's council, whereof my lord Monteagle liked well, only adding this request, by way of protestation, That whatsoever the event hereof might prove, it should not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too sudden an apprehension, that he delivered this Letter; being only moved thereunto for demonstration of his ready devotion, and care for preservation of his majesty and the state. And thus did the earl of Salisbury presently acquaint the lord chamberlain with the said Letter. Whereupon they two, in the presence of the lord Monteagle, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this letter; the tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of his majesty's person, made them apprehended, that some perilous attempt did thereby appear to be intended against the same, which did the more nearly concern the said lord chamberlain to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his office to oversee, as well all places of assembly where his majesty is to repair, as his highness's own private houses. And therefore did the said two counsellors conclude, that they should join unto themselves three more of the council, to wit, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester and Northampton, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident, who having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the contents of the said letter, they did conclude, That, how slight a matter it might at the first appear to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behoved them to have of the preservation of his majesty's person: but, yet resolved for two reasons, first, to acquaint the king himself with the same, before they proceeded to any

further inquisition in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of his majesty's fortunate judgment, in clearing and solving obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries; as also, because the more time would, in the meantime, be given for the practice to ripen, if any was, whereby the discovery might be more clear and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more safe, just, and easy. And so according to their determination did the said earl of Salisbury repair to the king in his gallery upon Friday, being Allhallow's-day, in the afternoon, which was the day after his majesty's arrival, and none but himself being present with his highness at that time, where, without any speech, or judgment given of the Letter, but only relating simply the form of the delivery thereof, he presented it to his majesty. The contents whereof follow:

"My Lord; Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse, to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be condemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letter; and I hope God will give you grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you."

The king no sooner read the letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it once again, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort, as he thought it was not to be contemned, for that the stile of it seemed to be more quick and pithy, than is usual to be in any pasquil or libel, the superfluities of the brain. But the earl of Salisbury, perceiving the king to apprehend it deeplier than he looked for, knowing his nature, told him, that he thought, by one sentence in it, that it was like to be written by some fool, or madman, reading to him this sentence in it: "For the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the letter;" which, he said, was likely to be the saying of a fool; for, if the danger was past, so soon as the letter was burnt, then the warning behoved to be of little avail, when the burning of the letter might make the danger to be eschewed. But the king, on the contrary, considering the former sentence in the letter, "That they should receive a terrible blow at this parliament," and yet

should not see who hurt them, joining it to the sentence immediately following, already alledged, did thereupon conjecture, that the danger mentioned should be some sudden danger by blowing up of powder; for no other insurrection, rebellion, or whatsoever other private and desperate attempt could be committed, or attempted, in time of parliament, and the authors thereof unseen, except only if it were by a blowing up of powder, which might be performed by one base knave in a dark corner: Whereupon he was moved to interpret and construe the latter sentence in the letter, alledged by the earl of Salisbury, against all ordinary sense and construction in grammar, as if by these words, "For the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt the letter;" should be closely understood the suddenness and quickness of the danger, which should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be a blazing up in the fire; turning that word of "as soon" to the sense of "as quickly;" and therefore wished, that, before his going to the parliament, the under-rooms of the parliament-house might be well and narrowly searched. But, the earl of Salisbury wondering at this his majesty's commentary, which he knew to be so far contrary to his ordinary and natural disposition, who did rather ever sin upon the other side, in not apprehending, nor trusting due advertisements of practices and perils, when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many times drawn himself into many desperate dangers; and interpreting rightly this extraordinary caution at this time to proceed from the vigilant care he had of the whole state, more than of his own person, which could not but have all perished together, if this designment had succeeded, he thought good to dissemble still to the king, that there had been any just cause of such apprehension; and, ending the purpose with some merry jest upon this subject, as his custom is, took his leave for that time. But, though he seemed to neglect it to his majesty, yet, his customable and watchful care of the king and the state still boiling within him, and having, with the blessed virgin Mary, laid up in his heart the king's so strange judgment and construction of it, he could not be at rest, till he acquainted the foresaid lords what had passed between the king and him in private. Whereupon they were all so earnest to renew again the memory of the same purpose to his majesty, that it was agreed, that he should the next day, being Saturday, repair to his highness; which he did in the same privy gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the lord chamberlain then being present with the king. At which time it was determined. That the said lord chamberlain should, according to his custom and office, view all the parliament-houses, both

above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of ant such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them: But yet, as well for staying of idle rumours, as for being the more able to discern any mystery, the nearer that things were in readiness, his journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoon before the sitting down of the parliament, which was upon the Monday following. At which time he (according to this conclusion) went to the parliament-house accompanied with my lord Monteagle, being, in zeal to the king's service, earnest and curious to see the event of that accident, whereof he had the fortune to be the first discoverer; where, having viewed all the lower rooms, he found, in the vault, under the upper house, great store and provision of billets, faggots and coals; and, inquiring of Whyneard, keeper of the wardrobe, To what use he had put those lower rooms and cellars? He told him, That Thomas Percy had hired both the house, and part of the cellar, or vault, under the same; and that the wood and coal therein were the said gentleman's own provision. Whereupon, the lord chamberlain, casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a corner there, calling himself the said Percy's man, and keeper of that house for him, but indeed was Guido Fawkes, the owner of that hand, which should have acted that monstrous tragedy.

The lord chamberlain, looking upon all things with a heedful indeed, yet, in outward appearance, with but a careless and rackless eye, as became so wise and diligent a minister, he presently addressed himself to the king in the said privy gallery; where, in the presence of the lord treasurer, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, he made his report what he had seen and observed there; noting, that Monteagle had told him, That he no sooner heard Thomas Percy named to be the possessor of the house, but, considering both his backwardness in religion, and the old dearness in friendship between himself and the said Percy, he did greatly suspect the matter, and that the letter should come from him. The said lord chamberlain also told, That he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of wood and coal in that house, where Thomas Percy had so seldom occasion to remain; as likewise it gave him in his mind, that his man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow.

This could not but increase the king's former apprehension and jealousy; whereupon, he insisted, as before, That the house was narrowly to be searched, and that those billets and coals should be searched to the bottom, it being most suspicious, that they were laid there only for cov-

ering of the powder. Of this same mind also were all the counsellors then present; but upon the fashion of making of the search was it long debated: For, upon the one side, they were all so jealous of the king's safety, that they all agreed, That there could not be too much caution used for preventing his danger; and yet, upon the other part, they were all extreme loth and dainty, that, in case this letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain, then a curious search being made, and nothing found, should not only turn to the general scandal of the king and the state, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill-favoured imputation upon the earl of Northumberland, one of his majesty's greatest subjects and counsellors, this Thomas Percy being his kinsman and most confident familiar. And, the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the king detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any of his good subjects, though of the meanest degree; and therefore, though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the security of the king's person, yet did they much differ in the circumstances, by which this action might be best carried with least din and occasion of slander. But, the king himself still persisting, that there were divers shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could prejudge no man that was innocent, he at last plainly resolved them, That either must all the parts of those room be narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they all must resolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next day to the parliament, and leave the success to fortune; which, he believed, they would be loth to take upon their conscience; for, in such a case as this, an half-doing was worse than no doing at all. Whereupon it was at last concluded, That nothing should be left unsearched in those houses; and yet, for the better colour and stay of rumour, in case nothing was found, it was thought meet, that, upon a pretence of Whyneard's missing some of the king's stuff, or hangings, which he had in keeping, all those rooms should be narrowly ripped for them. And, to this purpose, was sir Thomas Knevet, (a gentleman of his majesty's privy-chamber) employed, being a justice of peace in Westminster, and one, of whose ancient fidelity both the late queen and our now sovereign have had large proof; who, according to the trust committed unto him, went, about the midnight next after, to the parliament-house, accompanied with such a small number as was fit for that errand: but, before his entry in the house finding Thomas Percy's alledged man standing without the doors, his clothes and boots on, at so

dead a time of the night, he resolved to apprehend him; as he did, and thereafter went forward to the searching of the house, where, after he had caused to be overturned some of the billets and coals, he first found one of the small barrels of powder, and afterwards all the rest, to the number of 36 barrels, great and small; and thereafter, searching the fellow, whom he had taken, found three matches, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder, ready upon him; which made him instantly confess his own guiltiness; declaring also unto him, That, if he had happened to be within the house, when he took him, as he was immediately before (at the ending of his work) he would not have failed to have blown him up, house and all.

Thus, after sir Thomas had caused the wretch to be surely bound, and well guarded by the company he had brought with him, he himself returned back to the king's palace, and gave warning of his success to the lord Chamberlain, and earl of Salisbury, who immediately warning the rest of the council, that lay in the house; as soon as they could get themselves ready, came, with their fellow counsellors, to the king's bed-chamber, being, at that time, near four of the clock in the morning. And at the first entry of the king's chamber-door, the lord chamberlain, being not any longer able to conceal his joy for the preventing of so great a danger, told the king, in a confused haste, that all was found and discovered, and the traitor in hands and fast bound.

Then, order being first taken for sending for the rest of the council that lay in the town, the prisoner himself was brought into the house, where, in respect of the strangeness of the accident, no man was stayed from the sight, or speaking with him. And, within a while after, the council did examine him; who, seeming to put on a Roman resolution, did, both to the council, and to every other person that spoke with him that day, appear so constant and settled upon his grounds, as we all thought we had found some new Mutius Scaevola born in England. For, notwithstanding the horror of the fact, the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surprizing, the terror which should have been struck in him, by coming into the presence of so grave a council, and the restless and confused questions, that every man, all that day, did vex him with; yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, as he often smiled in scornful manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting only, with the said Scaevola, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof, he said, the devil, and not God, was the discoverer; answering quickly to every man's objection, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded unto

him, and jesting with such as he thought had no authority to examine him. All that day could the council get nothing out of him, touching his accomplices, refusing to answer to any such questions, which he thought might discover the plot, and laying all the blame upon himself; whereunto, he said, he was moved, only for religion and conscience sake, denying the king to be his lawful sovereign, or the Anointed of God, in respect he was an heretick, and giving himself no other name, than John Johnson, servant to Thomas Percy. But, the next morning, being carried to the Tower, he did not there remain above two or three days, being twice or thrice, in that space re-examined, and the rack only offered and shewed unto him, when the mask of his Roman fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his face; and then did he begin to confess part of the truth, and thereafter, to open the whole matter, as doth appear, by his Depositions immediately following.

The true Copy of the DEPOSITION of GUIDO FAWKES, taken in the Presence of the Counsellors, whose names are underwritten.

"I confess, that a practice, in general, was first broken unto me, against his majesty, for relief of the Catholick cause, and not invented or propounded by myself. And this was first propounded unto me about Easter last was twelve-month, beyond the seas, in the Low-Countries, of the archduke's obeisance, by Thomas Winter, who came, thereupon, with me into England, and there we imparted our purpose to three other gentlemen more, namely, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, and John Wright, who, all five, consulting together, of the means how to execute the same; and taking a vow, among ourselves, for secrecy, Catesby propounded to have it performed by gunpowder, and by making a mine under the upper house of parliament; which place we made choice of, the rather, because, religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that justice and punishment should be executed there. — This being resolved amongst us, Thomas Percy hired an house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoining to the parliament-house, and there we began to make our mine, about the 11th of December, 1604. — The five, that first entered into the work, were Thomas Percy, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and myself, and, soon after, we took another unto us, Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the Sacrament for secrecy. — When we came to the very foundation of the wall of the house, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took unto us another gentleman, Robert Winter, in like manner, with the Oath and Sacrament as afore-

said. — It was about Christmas, when we brought our mine unto the wall, and about Candlemas, we had wrought the wall half through: and, whilst they were in working, I stood as sentinel, to descry any man that came near, whereof I gave them warning, and so they ceased, until I gave notice again to proceed. — All we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder, being resolved to die in that place, before we should yield or be taken. — As they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a cellar, of removing of coals; whereupon we feared we had been discovered; and they sent me to go to the cellar, who finding that the coals were a selling, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly rent. — We had, before this, provided and brought into the house 20 barrels of powder, which we removed into the cellar, and covered the same with billets and faggots, which were provided for that purpose. — About Easter, the parliament being prorogued till October next, we dispersed ourselves, and I retired into the Low-Countries, by advice and direction of the rest; as well to acquaint Owen with the particulars of the plot, as also, lest, by my longer stay, I might have grown suspicious, and so have come in question. — In the mean time, Percy, having the key of the cellar, laid in more powder and wood into it. I returned, about the beginning of September next, and, then, receiving the key again of Percy, we brought in more powder, and billets to cover the same again, and so I went, for a time, into the country, till the 30th of October. — It was further resolved amongst us, that the same day, that this act should have been performed, some other of our confederates should have surprised the person of the lady Elizabeth, the king's eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire, at the lord Harrington's house, and presently have proclaimed her queen, having a project of a proclamation ready for that purpose; wherein we made no mention of altering religion, nor would have avowed the deed to be ours, until we should have had power enough to make our party good, and then we would have avowed both. — Concerning duke Charles, the king's second son, we had sundry consultations, how to seize on his person: but, because we found no means how to compass it, the duke being kept near London, where we had not force enough, we resolved to serve our turn with the lady Elizabeth."

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